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LIVES OF THE WARRIORS

OF

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Warriors of the Seventeenth Century.

BY

LIEUT.-GEN. THE HON. SIR EDWARD CUST, D.C.L.

AUTHOR OF "ANNALS OF THE WARS."

"For to read History only for contemplation is a vain and idle pleasure, which passeth away without fruit; but to imitate the virtue of those praised men in it, is the true and publick learning."—*Icon Animorum.*

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PART II.

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LIVES OF THE WARRIORS.

THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

PART II.

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PART II.

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BERNHARD,
DUKE OF SAXE WEIMAR,

A GERMAN GENERAL.

Born 1604. Died 1638.

His illustrious ancestry, and hostility to the House of Austria.

THIS heroic Prince inherited from his cradle an utterly irreconcileable hatred to the House of Austria, being great-grandson to John Frederick the Magnanimous, Elector of Saxony, who was taken prisoner by Charles V., at the battle of Muhlberg, and deprived by that Emperor of his Electorate and of the greater portion of his other possessions. The mother of Bernhard was Dorothea, daughter of the Prince of Anhalt, a woman of energy and spirit, who, although early left a widow, gave him and all her other children a most accomplished education. Bernhard was the youngest of eleven brothers, and all of them (excepting such as died young) carried arms against the Emperor. The eldest of the brothers, Duke William, was a prince of extremely popular manners, who joined Gustavus Adol-

phus at the first entertainment, or meeting, after the battle of Leipzig, when the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the Princes of the House of Anhalt, rallied round the conquering standard of the King of Sweden. Duke William was taken early into the royal confidence, and constituted Governor of Erfurt and the whole province of Thuringia; while Duke Ernest, another of the brothers, was appointed Governor of Königshofen on the frontiers of Franconia.

His birth and education.

Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, better known in German history as the "brave Duke of Weimar," and "the successor to the great Gustavus," was born in 1604; but his father, Duke John, died soon after his birth, and he lost his mother when he had scarcely attained the age of fifteen. The brother also who was nearest his own age, and his playmate, died somewhere about the same time; so that he was early thrown upon the world, and both from worldly circumstances and disposition left to carve out his own fortune as he could. He adopted the common expedient of German Princes, and took up arms. "The world's mine oyster, which I with sword will open."

He enters the service of Gustavus Adolphus.

Some of his brothers had taken service with Count Mansfeld, in the Netherlands, in 1621, where the eldest, Duke William, had a cavalry command. Bernhard through his influence received a commission, and joined the army of the celebrated Mansfeld, at that time defending the Upper Palatinate against Maximilian of Bavaria, and his general Tilly. On the retreat of Mansfeld out of Germany in 1622, and his death on the confines of Italy soon after, both brothers took service with the Margrave of Baden, and it was under him that Bernhard saw his first service in the field, at the battle of Wimpfen. The following year the Prince himself raised a regiment, of which he was constituted Colonel, and passed with it into the service of Maurice of Nassau. In 1625, however, he had to select another leader, owing to the

death of Maurice, and took service against his old enemy the Kaiser, in the army of Christian of Denmark; but the signal failure of that King in the service of the Protestant Union placed the whole family of Weimar in a dangerous state of antagonism to the Emperor, and they gladly availed themselves of the generous offer of Wallenstein, to obtain for them the pardon of Ferdinand, which Bernhard and all his brothers who yet survived accepted in the year 1628. After this he travelled for two years through England, France, and Holland, with much observation and sagacity, and doubtless the opportunity thus afforded him enlarged his intelligence, and contributed considerably to his subsequent superiority of character. As soon, however, as Gustavus Adolphus landed on the shore of Germany, in 1631, Bernhard hastened to offer his sword to the "Lion of the North," and received from that monarch the rank of Major-General, in which grade he took active service forthwith against the Imperial enemy, risking all the consequences of his broken fealty for the sake of the Protestant cause, and his hereditary animosity to the House of Hapsburg.

His early success in the field: joins the Swedes at Frankfort

The King of Sweden, who had the quickest eye of any prince or general to discover merit, was an eye-witness to the first encounter in which the young prince was engaged near Werben, where the Swedes were opposed to Tilly, with such great disparity of force, that Gustavus relied particularly on his best officers to carry out his especial tactics of retiring in order, inch by inch, with steadiness and firmness, before superiority of numbers, so marching as not to turn their backs to the enemy, lest the Imperialists should overpower them by numbers. Under this difficult operation Bernhard displayed the distinguishing marks of his talents and genius, and secured the favour of Gustavus. He continued to follow with the coolest bravery the King's instructions, having one horse killed under him by a cannon-ball, and another disabled while the Duke

was mounting him. He was immediately afterwards entrusted with an order to raise three regiments, in the command of which he was to repair to the Landgrave of Hesse, and he received from His Majesty this sole injunction, "not to expose his person with so much confidence." He was serving with the Prince of Hesse in Westphalia and the Upper Rhine, when Gustavus fought and won the battle of Leipzig, at which, consequently, Bernhard was not present. The two Imperial generals, Fugger and Aldringer, had, however, been ordered by Tilly to occupy the attention of the Landgrave, and to oppose him; but that prince firmly resisted the arms of his enemies, as his subjects had nobly withstood their proclamations inciting them to resistance to their Sovereign, and the Imperial Generals could effect nothing against him; the defeat of Leipzig, however, relieved him of their presence. Bernhard availed himself of their absence to overrun Westphalia with courage and resolution. In a short time Wach, or Vacha, Minden, and Hoexter, all on the Weser, surrendered to the forces of the Landgrave, while a rapid advance upon the bishopries of Fulda, Paderborn, and the ecclesiastical territories which bordered on Hesse, so alarmed those dignitaries, that the terrified States hastened by a speedy submission to set limits to the progress of his arms, and by considerable contributions to purchase exemption from spoliation and plunder. After these successful enterprises Duke Bernhard joined the army of Gustavus Adolphus at Frankfort.

Captures Mayence.

The Elector of Mayence, Anselm Casimir, having showed a disposition to resist the arms of the King, Duke Bernhard was sent against him, when he made himself master of the Mauve-thurm and the Castle of Ehrenfels, on the other side of the Rhine, and here it was the intention of Gustavus to follow him with his artillery and the greater part of his troops, December, 1631. The crossing of the Rhine, however, had struck terror into the Spaniards, who composed the strength

of the Elector's army, and who now found themselves unprotected by the river from the vengeance of the Swedes; rapid flight therefore appeared their only security. Accordingly, the rich and magnificent residence of the Elector at Mayence hastened to capitulate to Bernhard on the fourth day, lest His Reverend Highness should incur the retaliation of the Swedes for the horrors of Magdeburg.

Manheim taken.

The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, following up these successes, took the towns of Falkenstein and Reifenberg; while the fortress of Konigstein also surrendered to his army. Frankenthal in the Palatinate alone held out against him; but Landau and Weissenberg declared for the Swedes. Spires also offered to raise troops for the King's service, and by the prudence of Duke Bernhard, and the negligence of its governor (who was afterwards tried for his misconduct and beheaded), Manheim also was gained to the Protestant cause.

Duke Bernhard is sent into Saxony to collect reinforcements for the Swedes.

While Gustavus was occupied at Frankfort and Mayence, Duke Bernhard, with 10,000 men, was sent into Suabia with an independent command, which he executed with great credit and good fortune. He was at first directed to move against an Imperial army under Ossa, who was besieging Biberach, and he obliged him to raise that siege, and to fall back to the Lake of Constance, whither he followed after them to the very foot of the Alps, and punished severely a force composed of that General's finest regiments, under the Count of Hohen-Ems, taking from him 400 prisoners and 8 ensigns.

Is present at the passage of the Lech.

Duke Bernhard took part under the King in the passage of the Lech, which soon followed, and advanced with him to Munich. But when the Catholic cause appeared likely to become formidable by the recall to the command of its armies of the famous Wallenstein, the King sent Duke Bernhard into Lower Saxony and Thuringia, to collect the garrisons and flying detachments still there, and to bring them down

to the reinforcement of the royal army. The Landgrave of Hesse and the Chancellor Oxenstierna were at the same time collecting strength for the same object; and all these respective troops rallied around Duke Bernhard at Windsheim on the 14th of August, 1632, and, advancing by rapid marches across the Rednitz, reached the Swedish camp in safety on the 21st. It was only a few days subsequent to this junction that Gustavus attempted the Imperial camp near Altenberg Castle, where a sharp contest took place between the troops of both armies, with equal intrepidity and loss on both sides; and Duke Bernhard had a horse shot under him in that engagement.

Takes the command of the Swedish army on the death of Gustavus Adolphus at the battle of Lutzen.

At length the King, having broken up his camp near Nuremberg on the 8th September, and marched away to Bavaria, despatched Duke Bernhard on the 15th with 12,000 men to observe Wallenstein in Franconia on one side, and Pappenheim on another. In the operations that followed, Wallenstein, having obtained possession of the town and residence of Coburg, laid siege to the castle; but Duke Bernhard advanced to its aid, and, in conjunction with Dewbattel, forced the Generalissimo to raise the siege of Coburg-Schloss, which was the greater personal gratification to himself, as he was the next heir to the Duchy of Coburg. After this he joined the King at Armstadt on the 24th of October, and marched under the royal banner to Lutzen, that field so fatal to the Protestant fortunes. It is evident from the fact that Bernhard passed the night of the 6th of November previous to the battle, in his carriage, in intimate conversation with the King, discussing all the various contingencies of the battle, that he at that important moment occupied a place of high confidence with His Majesty, and was accordingly well esteemed by the army. The veteran Kniphausen was also of this party; and it is thought that while he strongly advised Gustavus not to give battle, Weimar, with a temper more congenial to a youthful warrior,

declared for action, which was also most suited to the ardour of the King. The result is too well known, and "the Lion of the North" succumbed to his fate. Bernhard, Duke of Saxe Weimar, however, took the command upon the death of the King, and gave to the bereaved Swedish army a noble leader in his own person, and by the strangest antithesis of fortune they obtained a triumph on that day, though they lost their hero. The Swedish commander headed the victorious squadrons of Gustavus, and led them in the moment of their deep grief to recover his body, and with undaunted resolution turned about to confront Pappenheim, when he arrived with his army, and obliged the Duke of Friedland to retire from the plain without artillery, without colours, and almost without an army. The Duke Bernhard kept possession of the field, and kept it for several days, to assert the victory and allow the Swedish army some repose, while he prepared himself for the task of command, and held himself ready to oppose any attempt which Wallenstein might make to recover it.

The Chancellor Oxenstierna directs after the death of the King of Sweden.

The death of Gustavus Adolphus on the one side, and of the famous Tilly on the other, who had been both of them in undoubted sincerity the impersonation of the two religions that were in dispute at the commencement of the contest, occasioned an entirely new phase in "the Thirty Years' War," which henceforth entirely changed its character. Catholics and Protestants fought as often on the same as on the opposite sides. The Emperor Ferdinand, who had indeed the unfortunate celebrity of having kindled the war that had so desolated the Empire, was a superstitious despot; but the fire of his ambition had about this time consumed the stedfastness of his faith, and he was now more intent upon his temporal rule than upon his eternal salvation. The Princes and Free Towns deeply mistrusted their Suzerain, and resented his Jesuitical conduct in the affair of "the Edict of Restitution,"

so that, notwithstanding national political and religious prejudices, a new confederacy was entered into in 1633, called "the League of Heilbronn," or "Hailbrun;" in which town a convocation called of the four Upper Circles was summoned, to which deputies of more than twelve cities of the Empire, with a brilliant crowd of doctors, counts, and princes, attended to meet the Swedish Chancellor, Oxenstierna, who appeared there as its president, with all the splendour of the crown whose representative he had become by the appointment of the deceased Gustavus Adolphus. As Regent of Sweden he at once opened the proceedings, and conducted the deliberations. He pointed out to the assembled Congress the absolute necessity of giving a head and director to the new state of affairs; and he was himself humbly requested by the assembled body to give the common cause the benefit of his enlightened experience, and to take upon himself the burden of the supreme direction. This was that great and renowned man who had been for years the late King's friend and counsellor, and whom Gustavus designated as "Vir togatus et sagatus." Though not a soldier, yet he had been frequently entrusted with military commands, and had been acquainted with the royal opinion, as likewise of all the Swedish Generals, so also with the condition of German politics, and of the various interests and intrigues of the great powers of Europe. This was the man whose celebrated dictum has passed into a proverb,—"Nescis, mi fili! quantillâ parvulâ sapientiâ regitur mundus."

Duke Bernhard is appointed to the command of all the armies belonging to the League of Heilbronn.

Oxenstierna was in truth merely carrying out the plan of his master, by assembling this Congress of the four Upper Circles of Germany, with which he had been entrusted, when the sad news of the King's death met him at Hanau. It is unnecessary to question the severity with which such a blow must have fallen upon him. Gustavus Adolphus was indeed the keystone of an arch that had rested on very treacherous ground,—

an alien authority on a foreign soil. The rigid arm of the wise King and great Commander had kept it together; but how could any other man hope for the same success? Fortunately, Oxenstierna was not only an experienced statesman of the first class, but he was also no inconsiderable general, although he was content to keep these duties distinct, and not to raise any unnecessary jealousy in the army. He at once ratified the appointment that had fallen by accident or assumption on Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, and the Prince was formally appointed to take the chief command of all the armies belonging to the League or Convention of Heilbronn.

The troops demand the reward of their services.

All the previous successes of the Swedes in Germany had been owing altogether to their arms. The greatness of Gustavus himself was the work of the army, the fruit of their discipline, their bravery, and their persevering courage under numberless privations. The expanding designs of their Sovereign, although they lately partook largely of civil ambition, continually imposed new burdens on the military. The most decisive advantages had been gained by the sacrifice of many lives of soldiers and their unscrupulous conduct, and winter campaigns, forced marches, stormings, pitched battles, heavy contributions, had given a more considerable weight to the soldiery, and a higher sense of their importance than usual. They therefore with some justice demanded a share in the spoil which had been won by their blood. Moreover, the princes and ministers of the Confederate powers thought that some remuneration was due to the sacrifices and personal risks they also had made to the cause: they deemed that in their case, equally with the lower instruments of success, "the labourer was worthy of his hire." Gustavus had already found that he must reckon more on the selfish motives of men than on their patriotism, and did not fail to avail himself of the circumstance. His allies accordingly had received from him the pro-

mise of some possessions wrested already, or that might hereafter be taken, from the enemy. I cannot find that it was a characteristic of Gustavus Adolphus to exercise any very general bounty towards his soldiery. Individual instances of such indulgence are very rare; and to the time of his death his hands were more firm in discipline, than open in generous reward.

Rewards to officers and soldiers.

However that may be, what prudence suggested to the King to promise, was now prescribed by necessity to his successor as head of the Confederacy. If it was their object to continue the war, the spoils of war must be henceforth divided, and prospective advantages must be promised. The Abbacies of Paderborn, Corvey, Munster, and Fulda, were in this way assigned to the Landgrave of Hesse, to the Duke of Wurtemberg other Ecclesiastical dominions, and to Bernhard of Saxe Weimar the Bishoprics of Wurzburg and Bambesgau, a new Franconian Duchy. It was said that these "retaining fees" for the service of the German Princes excited the contempt of the Swedish Chancellor, who said, "Let it be in our records for an everlasting memorial, that German Princes made these requests of a Swedish nobleman, and that the Swedish nobleman granted them to the Germans upon German ground." But such an anecdote is, I think, little worthy of a man deemed so wise as Oxenstierna. There are few men of the world, and no conquerors or ministers, who have the disposal of any thing—from a duchy to the smallest cross of honour—that must not be quite alive to the fact, that it is chiefly private advantage that is the mainspring of all human action.

Bernhard marches to the aid of Baner: defeats the Imperialists.

Soon after the victory of Lutzen the troops of Saxony and Lunenburg united with the Swedish army, and the Imperialists were driven out of Saxony. But as soon as ever the coast was clear of an enemy, it appears that Duke Bernhard carried off the Swedish army to look after his private prospects in Franconia. The Swedish General Baner, therefore, who was endea-

vouring in the Duke's absence to maintain the acquisitions of the King against the Bavarians, found himself so pressed on the Lech and the Danube by the Imperialist General Aldringer, that he was obliged to summon all the Swedish detachments to his aid, and earnestly pressed Duke Bernhard to come up to his assistance. Bernhard was at the moment threatening Wurzburg, having made himself master of the episcopate of Bamberg; but, on receiving intimation of the state of affairs from Baner and Horn, he began his march towards the Danube without delay, and joined his comrades near Donauwerth, having in his way encountered and defeated an Imperial army under John de Weerth. This numerous coalesced force, commanded by first-rate Generals, alarmed Aldringer, with his Bavarians, who was moreover fettered in his operations by the express orders of the Duke of Friedland; but, being left without assistance from the Generalissimo, he must have succumbed to the Swedish arms in this quarter, but for an untoward incident, which paralyzed and threatened absolute confusion in the Confederate lines.

Mutiny in the Swedish army; suppressed by Bernhard.

For the reasons above narrated, and from a notion that while the avaricious spirit of their leaders had obtained for themselves very great wealth in the scramble, the soldiers had barely received their pay, a mutiny broke out in the Swedish army, who seized this critical and dangerous moment to impress their superiors with a sense of their importance. Two superior officers set the example, who were followed by almost all ranks of the army. They solemnly bound themselves to obey no orders till their arrears of months, and even years, were settled, and gratuities, either in money or land, made to each man according to his services. They said, with some appearance of truth, "Immense sums were daily raised by contributions, which were dissipated by a few. Their leaders had been amply remunerated, but they were

called out to serve under the heat and the frost, and no reward requited their incessant privations. The soldiers' excesses were blamed, but no one ever talked of their services. The world rang with tidings of battles and victories; but by whose hands were they fought and won?" The dissatisfaction of the malcontents daily increased. They insisted that their conditions should be satisfied within four weeks, or that they would pay themselves and march away bodily to Sweden. The stern rebukes of Baner failed to suppress this disorder. The vehemence of Gustavus Horn seemed only to increase the insolence of the insurgents. Among all the Swedish Generals there was only one man of sufficient authority and influence in the army to be listened to—Duke Bernhard was the favourite of the soldiers; his military experience had won their confidence, his readiness to listen to them secured now their good will. His bearing on this occasion towards the Chancellor, who was, perhaps, irritated at finding that he who ought to have stood by his side had now turned against him, was such, that Oxenstierna, in the first moment of his displeasure, dismissed him from his post of Commander-in-Chief of the Swedish army; but he soon thought better of this, and determined to attach him to the Swedish interests at any cost. Larger donations to himself were made or promised, and large sums of money and more extensive estates were divided among the officers, amounting in value to about five millions of dollars. The Duke made the best use of this valuable grant, and by his influence and activity soon restored tranquillity to the army. The opportunity, however, for undertaking something great and decisive, with the large united force under his command, was lost, and it now became necessary to divide it, in order to oppose the enemy in other quarters.

Bernhard captures Ratisbon.

While Baner marched away towards the Rhine, and Gustavus Horn directed his progress towards the Suabian frontier, Duke Bernhard, with eighteen regi-

ments of infantry, and 140 squadrons of horse, took up a position on the Danube, to cover Franconia, and to watch the Imperialists on the north side of that river. It was just at this moment that the Emperor commenced the game of cross purposes with his great Generalissimo, and had brought up from Alsace a Spanish army commanded by the Duke de Feria, under the Cardinal Infanta, brother of King Philip IV., in order to regain his power, and to which he had expressly directed his General, Aldringer, to unite his corps of Imperialists. Bernhard, therefore, profiting by his absence, hastened south, and with the rapidity of lightning appeared before Ratisbon. With indescribable consternation Maximilian of Bavaria beheld this step, and the preparations made by the Swedish army to besiege the city. It had been the dying advice of Tilly to the Elector, that he should make every sacrifice to hold this strategic point, the importance of which had been also openly admitted by Gustavus after his passage of the Lech. The place was only garrisoned by fifteen companies of new levies; and the inhabitants, unfriendly and ill disposed toward the Bavarians, witnessed Bernhard's arrival before their city with joy.

In this perplexity, the Elector of Bavaria addressed pressing entreaties for assistance to the Emperor and to the Duke of Friedland; but the appeal was, of course, an idle one to two chieftains, if not in direct opposition to one another, in a very antagonistic state. Neither accordingly stirred a finger to help the poor Elector, notwithstanding that seven messages were sent in succession to describe the difficulties of his situation. His Commandant at Ratisbon did, however, his best in the emergency,—made every preparation for defence,—and even augmented his garrison by calling in some of the Roman Catholic peasantry of the suburbs. But as no relief arrived, and as the Swedish artillery had pretty well destroyed all his defences, he had no alternative

but to make the best terms he could, and by an honourable capitulation surrender the place.

Bernhard suspends his military operations.

The possession of Ratisbon enabled Duke Bernhard to open out a new and bold field of operations for his army, who could from thence penetrate into the hereditary provinces, and by arming the Protestant peasantry, who were still numerous in those districts, extend and restore their religious liberty. He advanced and took Straubingen, and, bidding defiance to the severity of the weather, reached the mouth of the Iser, which he passed in spite of the Imperialists under De Weerth. Here, however, the victorious Bernhard checked his career of conquest of his own accord. Wallenstein showed symptoms of movement, and as the frozen ground admitted of no intrenchments, and he was between two hostile armies and a disaffected country, he resolved, by a timely retreat, to escape the danger of being cut off from Ratisbon. He accordingly changed his plan, and allowed his troops to repose in winter-quarters within the territory he had acquired in the Upper Palatinate, and here he resolved that they should exist at free cost in the enemy's country.

Wallenstein's overtures to Bernhard for assistance.

Before the campaign of 1634 could open, a most singular and unexpected incident affected all the prospects of the war. The Duke of Friedland himself apprised Duke Bernhard in the months of January and February of the disfavour into which he had fallen with the Emperor, and of the conspiracy that existed against him among his own generals, and he even appealed to the Swedish General for aid in this necessity. It may be remembered, that in the early part of his career Bernhard had been indebted in a great extremity to Wallenstein; yet, as he was in complete ignorance of the state of affairs between the Emperor and the Generalissimo, the message was scarcely credited by the Duke of Saxe Weimar, who may probably have suspected it to be "a weak device of the enemy." His

strong religious character would not permit him to believe that his opponent could be in direct and open league with principles of loyalty that up to that period he had himself regarded as fixed and unchangeable. Accordingly he replied to the confidential officer who had brought him the communication, "He who never trusted in God can never be expected to obtain the confidence of man." He nevertheless sent messengers to learn the truth of the statement; and, hearing that the Duke of Lauenberg had received the same urgent request, and that he was preparing to send 4000 Saxons to his aid, Duke Bernhard moved his army towards Bohemia, and gave 6000 Swedes to the Palatine of Birkenfeld to act in concert with the Saxons. The Duke of Lauenberg sent forward an express to the Castle of Eger, announcing his approach; but the messenger fell into the hands of the conspirators, who inveigled him into their snare; and an endeavour was made to allure the Swedes into the same trap, but Duke Bernhard heard of Wallenstein's death in time to avert the evil.

Ratisbon and Donauwerth are recovered by the Imperialists.

The death of the Duke of Friedland rendered necessary the appointment of a new Generalissimo, and the Emperor thought it best to avert the danger of a too powerful subject by raising his son, the King of Hungary, to that dignity. Under him Count Gallas was named to perform the functions of Commander. The Imperialist forces were now concentrated to act with greater vigour than formerly, and the Duke of Lorraine brought a considerable body of auxiliaries to join the Cardinal Infanta's army. The new General at once undertook to recover Ratisbon from the Swedes. The Swedish General Kagge had been appointed Governor, and a sufficient garrison was entrusted to him. Duke Bernhard, with his army, penetrated and laid waste Bavaria, with a view to draw the Imperialists away from Ratisbon. But Ferdinand continued to press the siege; and although Gustavus Horn acted in concert

with Duke Bernhard in another ineffectual attempt to break the siege, and the garrison made a bold defence, the Governor was obliged to open the gates of the town to the enemy in July. Donauwerth soon shared the same fate as Ratisbon; and the Imperialists, continuing their course up the valley of the Danube, invested Nordlingen in Suabia. The loss of these Imperial cities was of serious consequence to the Swedish cause, for their friendship had largely contributed to the success of their arms. In their necessities, therefore, they looked to the Swedish commanders, who considered that it would be an indelible disgrace, if they deserted their confederates, and abandoned them to the revenge of an implacable conqueror. Bernhard of Weimar and Horn resolved accordingly to advance upon Nordlingen, and endeavour to relieve it even at the expense of a battle.

The Swedes defeated at Nordlingen.

The undertaking was hazardous, for the Imperialists were greatly superior in force to the Swedes; the latter numbering 36,000 foot, against 46,000. It was known to the commanders of the latter that the Italian portion of the Imperialists was destined for the Netherlands, and that it was probable that the Rheingrave would come up to the aid of the Swedes with another division of the army, which was already close at hand. These views were strongly urged by Gustavus Horn in a council of war; but his advice was disregarded, and the impetuosity of Duke Bernhard, intoxicated by his continued career of success, overbore the prudent judgment of his colleague, who was himself compelled to undertake the contest, of the issue of which he had a dark foreboding. There was a height called the Haefelberg, a strong point from whence, if it could be obtained, a communication might be opened with the town, which would effect the desired object in the easiest way. On the 26th of August the Swedish cavalry crossed the Eger, and fell upon the Imperial camp; but this did not impede the progress of the

siege, for the besiegers pushed forward their approaches with little interruption, and invested the town with a closer embrace, repelling several sorties from the besieged with great bravery. On the 5th of September, Horn was ordered to obtain possession of the height, which he attempted by a night attack, in which he failed; but Bernhard succeeded in establishing his troops in the villages of Ederheim and Hirnheim. The tedious transport of the artillery through woods and hollow ways very much impeded the movements of the Swedes; but the Imperialists brought up their guns to the heights to defend their front, where they had also thrown up intrenchments. On the morning of the 6th, Horn succeeded in carrying the hill of the Allbuch; and Bernhard remained apparently content with his post, instead of supporting Horn. The impetuous courage of the Swedes surmounted every obstacle. The enemy's intrenchments, which were in form of a crescent, were assailed from opposite sides, and the brigades appointed to this service met, and threw each other into great confusion. In the middle of this conflict a powder tumbril blew up, by which numbers were destroyed in the army of the assailants; and the Imperial cavalry charged the broken ranks, and threw them into such disorder that the flight became universal. Bernhard made a struggle to communicate from the post he held with the garrison of Nordlingen, while he despatched Count Thurn to the assistance of his left wing; but in the mean time some Spanish regiments had been brought up to oppose Horn on the Allbuch; and, although the General advanced against them seven times, he was as often driven back. At length, after having held the hill six hours, he was compelled to give orders to evacuate the post; but Bernhard's right wing had already quitted the Haefelberg, and now in their retreat spread confusion among Horn's troops, which rendered the defeat complete. General Horn himself, in the endeavour to

rally the fugitives, was taken prisoner. Bernhard, whose horse had been shot under him, was only enabled to save himself by getting upon the back of a trooper. The veteran Count Thurn vainly endeavoured to stem the torrent, but was carried along with it; and almost the entire infantry, with eighty field-pieces, 300 standards, and 4000 waggons, fell into the hands of the Imperialists. Twelve thousand men, and three other generals, were left dead upon the field; and Duke Bernhard with difficulty saved a feeble remnant of his army; but the Rheingrave, for whose arrival Horn had counselled delay in the attack, arrived next day. He was, however, encountered in his march to join the Duke by John de Weerth; and 7000 more prisoners were added to the trophies of the battle of Nordlingen.

The Count de Scharpfenstein, or Cratz: his character and conduct.

John Philip, Count de Scharpfenstein, who is known in all the histories of the period by the name of Cratz, was third in command of the Swedes in the battle of Nordlingen, and was left on the field. It was with him a maxim, that a soldier should never quit the battle-ground under any circumstances, and this had occasioned him to be made a prisoner at the battle of Leipzig; but he had received his liberty, and the Emperor had made him a Count of the Empire. But in consequence of the Duke of Friedland's conduct to him, he had quarrelled with and had challenged the Generalissimo, and had told him he would make his sword speak plainer than his tongue. He had accordingly quitted the Imperialist ranks, and accepted the post of Camp-Master-General in the Swedish army. He therefore must have well known the fate that awaited him, if he should chance to be taken prisoner. Nevertheless, he continued to walk up and down upon the field after the action, and it was some time before he was recognized. He was a man as much distinguished by bravery as by talents, but was one of the most eccentric men of genius of a period so fertile in remarkable men. He

had only joined the Swedish army the night before the fatal battle, and had united with Horn in denouncing an attack as rash and hazardous; nevertheless he led the Swedes bravely against the Imperialists, killing with his own hand Aldobrandi, the Grand Prior of Malta, although he had been the nearest and dearest of all his friends. Duke Bernhard, on hearing that the Count remained on the field, sent an adjutant to him, who urged Cratz to withdraw; but the latter replied, "he would have the honour to follow him by and by." Bernhard subsequently offered the payment of any ransom, and even proposed to exchange the Bishop of Wurzburg, a prelate and prince of much greater consequence than the prisoner; but the Court of Vienna refused; and he was brought to trial as a deserter, and executed upon a public scaffold.

Serious consequences of the defeat at Nordlingen.

The great fault of Bernhard of Saxe Weimar in the battle of Nordlingen was—the too wide separation of his columns of attack, and the entire neglect of any reserve; so that when his army fell into disorder there was not any present remedy by which he could recover himself. The consequences of this disaster were terrible. The Swedes lost by the defeat their superiority in the field, and, what was more difficult to recover, the confidence of the Confederates, which they had obtained principally by their military success; for, as has been remarked, they were regarded as aliens and foreigners by every class of the German people. The Protestant Confederation was now threatened with ruin. All the members of the League of Heilbronn trembled at the prospect of the Emperor's revenge, and the free cities awaited their fate with alarm. Had the dominant party showed more moderation to the conquered, the weaker states would shortly have been restored to the Imperial authority; but the severity that was practised after victory drove men to despair, and roused them to a vigorous resistance. All looked to Oxenstierna for counsel and assistance. The Swedish

Chancellor was at his wits' end; and, as has been every where recorded, "could get no sleep." More troops were wanted;—money to raise new levies and to pay old arrears was indispensable; application for assistance in both was made to the Elector of Saxony. But John George, with his accustomed baseness, was one of the first to desert the cause, and to make a separate peace for himself at Pirna at this most critical moment [1].

The Protestant League calls for the aid of France.

Abandoned by all his German allies, the Swedish Chancellor turned for assistance to foreign powers. England, Holland, and Venice, were applied to for troops and money; but although they received the requisition favourably, it was from France alone that he could obtain effectual assistance. Richelieu had watched with impatience for such a contingency as now presented itself. He knew how indispensable the assistance of France must become, and was resolved to be well remunerated for the foremost part that she might now take in the German disputes. A special Embassy in the name of the Protestant League requested France to take possession of Alsace, and all the fortresses on the frontier, which were the keys of France and Germany, and to hold them, according to modern parlance, "as a material guarantee." In return for

[1] The character of this potentate, as given by Feuquieres, is worth notice: "The Duke of Saxony is a Lutheran—warm and bigoted—disdainful and haughty in his carriage—extravagant in his habit of drinking—hated and despised by all, even by his own children, whom he treated as slaves—slothful and incapable of great affairs, but passionate in all his pleasures: a concealed enemy to the Swedes, and jealous of the House of Weimar, whose pretensions, by respect of their right to the Electorate, filled his mind with suspicious apprehensions. He retained, partly out of a weak remains of gratitude, a prepossession to the Emperor; but he thought himself in a position to manage the House of Austria with dexterity, as being more necessary to their interests than any other German Prince. General Arnheim, who alone could endure his continual habit of snarling and blustering, governed him absolutely."

the important concession France engaged to effect an important diversion by her armies.

After the defeat at Nordlingen an equitable peace was not to be expected from the Emperor; nevertheless, the terms of the treaty of the Emperor and Elector at Pirna were now reduced into a formal treaty of peace at Prague, on the 30th May, 1635, to which all the German States, and even the Swedes, were publicly invited to become parties. This peace was, as might have been expected, received with very various feelings throughout Germany: most of the Protestant States were compelled by necessity to embrace it. Besides the Elector of Saxony, the Elector of Brandenburg, the reigning Duke of Saxe Weimar, the Princes of Anhalt, the Dukes of Mecklenburg and Brunswick-Lunenburg, the Hanse Towns, and all the Imperial cities, acceded to it. The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel long wavered, or affected to do so. Bernhard, whose states as a belligerent power existed only as yet on paper, was supposed to be affected by the treaty, but it was only in so far as his family were: as a General, however, his very existence was jeoparded. His whole riches consisted in his bravery; all his possible possessions depended on his sword; war alone conferred greatness and importance upon him; and it was from war alone that the vast projects which his ambition suggested could be realized. At a period when every thing in life depended largely on personal prowess,—when even personal strength was of some importance,—when troops and officers were more influential than parchments and title-deeds, it was perhaps not unnatural that one in the situation of Bernhard of Saxe Weimar should place an almost overweening confidence in his own qualities, and believe himself capable of obtaining by boldness some advantageous steps for his own aggrandizement. His defeat at Nordlingen had terminated all the hopes he had been permitted to dream of in the Duchy of Franconia; for his loss of

Treaty of Prague.

reputation from that battle had lowered him in the estimation of all the Swedish authorities, including, of course, the Chancellor, as well as the other Generals commanding armies, to whom he must now surrender the lead with however great reluctance, and with whom he now had continually serious misunderstandings. Accordingly, he separated himself from the other Swedish armies, and retired behind the Rhine with such followers as he could gather around him, determined to act in conjunction and correspondence with the French armies. At the same time he entered into a series of negotiations with Cardinal Richelieu on his own account.

Hostilities recommenced.

Hostilities commenced in 1635 by the Elector of Saxony recalling all his subjects from the Swedish army of General Baner, which was at the time encamped upon the Elbe. France, having already come to a rupture with Spain, had deprived the Emperor of his most valuable auxiliaries from the side of the Pyrenees and the Netherlands; there was therefore a *pied-à-terre* on which Duke Bernhard, in conjunction with the French armies, was enabled to act; and by these means the Emperor, instead of massing his strength, was compelled to divide his force both upon the Elbe and upon the Danube, and his enemies were enabled to maintain themselves with greater vigour, which left the Saxon Electorate exposed to the destructive ravages of the Swedish army. Duke Bernhard remained during the whole summer at or near Wetterau; but his ranks were continually deserted by the soldiers who had belonged to the States of the now entirely dissolved Confederation of Heilbronn; and he received little or no support from the Swedes. Tired of the constraint and insignificancy thus imposed upon him, he, as it is said, at the instigation of his brother William, repaired in person to Paris, in October, 1634, and was received with respect and favour by the Cardinal, who concluded a treaty with him at St. Germain-en-Laye, not as a Swedish General, but in his own

name; and he now formally renounced the Swedish service and entered that of France, engaging to maintain an army of 18,000 men at the yearly subsidy of four million of livres, and to receive an annual pension of a million and a half. The artful Richelieu, who had well learnt how to deal with men of all ranks and stations, added a secret article to the treaty, which might inflame the zeal and confirm the attachment of this Prince. By this he was promised, that in case he should succeed in effecting the conquest of Alsace, Lorraine, and Upper Burgundy, he should have a province for himself. To this Bernhard readily acceded; for, meeting artifice with dissimulation, he confided in the good fortune of his arms to be able to effect the desired conquest, and once obtained to hold it even in spite of a friend. One must lament, for the honour of an heroic warrior, the easy tie of allegiance on which Bernhard of Saxe Weimar was now induced to act, and the grossly interested motives of his whole subsequent conduct: but such was the practice of the times. No chieftain appeared to hesitate to consider that his military strength and success were given him for his own aggrandizement.

Bernhard loses the fortress of Kaysler-lautern, and his treasures there.

Although Duke Bernhard had been seriously crippled in his pecuniary resources by the misfortunes attending his defeat at Nordlingen, he had nevertheless collected by one means or other a very considerable booty, which he had secured in the fortress of Kaysler-lautern, and on which he relied to carry out the engagements of his treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. An Imperial army under the command of Gallas had, however, been sent down for the reduction of Suabia and Franconia, and had taken the towns of Mayence and Frankenthal, and penetrated even into Alsace, where it laid siege to the Duke's fortress of Kayslerlautern. Bernhard, who had little besides his own good sword to rely upon, defended the place with the greater energy, as it contained almost all his worldly possessions; and

it was not until after the greater portion of the garrison had fallen before the reiterated assaults that had been made for its reduction, and until it was denied the Prince to afford it any relief, that Kayslerlautern, and its well-supplied treasury, were yielded to Gallas. This was a serious blow to Duke Bernhard; nevertheless he kept the field at the close of 1635; and, having been now joined by a French army under Cardinal de la Valette, he obliged the Imperialists to raise the siege of Zweybrucken, and to break the investment of Mayence.

Narrow escape of Bernhard: capture of Mayence.

In 1636 an Imperial army under John de Weerth invaded Lorraine, and threatened the French frontier. The activity of Duke Bernhard was considerably hampered by the necessity of his dependence on a French General better suited to the priestly robe than to the bâton of command. The Confederated Generals turned, however, against John de Weerth, and defeated him at Meissenheim; but Gallas coming up with his force, increased to 30,000 men (having been now joined by Coloredo), reduced the Confederate army to great distress for want of provisions; and the Imperialists became so powerful, that their opponents were obliged to retire before them. Bernhard, in this retreat, was very nearly made prisoner, and only escaped capture by his knowledge of a bridge over the Sarre that he had himself ordered to be constructed of wine casks, and to which he owed his preservation. The fugitive force at length reached Metz in safety, having been constrained to witness the fall of Mayence, which had been starved into a capitulation.

Bernhard visits Paris: his reception by the French Court.

Some delay in the payment of the subsidies agreed upon by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye took Duke Bernhard to Paris in the beginning of the year 1636. Now, whether it was a spark of family pride, or whether the great Cardinal acted as many a man does to his pensioner, by taking pleasure in making him feel his dependence, Duke Bernhard took a spirited step to prove before the whole Court of Versailles that he was

a Prince of the Roman Empire, and would not be outraged by any *parvenu*. He considered himself insulted by the French Court, who gave the Duke of Parma the precedence over him. This was a Sovereign Prince of a very small state, originally of the Italian House of Farnese, but for successive generations a General in the service of Spain. When, therefore, Duke Bernhard had his audience of the King, the moment His Majesty covered his head, the Prince of Weimar,—as a descendant by the Misnian branch of the Imperial family,—with great composure put on his hat. The Court was amazed at this assurance, and was disposed to meet it with open resentment; but more prudent counsels prevailed, since France at this moment more needed Duke Bernhard's assistance than the Duke wanted hers. He is thought, however, to have been tempted to the French capital by a passion he entertained for the charming daughter of the Duc de Rohan; and it is probable that it was returned by the young lady, for Duke Bernhard was not a man to be slighted by any woman. Probably, however, this incident at the French Court rather impeded his courtship; at all events, as soon as he obtained a settlement of his money grievances from the Government, he thought it prudent to quit Paris, and returned to the army.

Drives the Imperialists out of Alsace.

The campaign of 1636 in the Rhenan provinces opened with the siege of Saverne, which Gallas was unable to relieve. Duke Bernhard subsequently made an irruption into Franche-Compté, in concert with the Duc de Lorraine, and even followed after the Imperialists into Burgundy, having wholly freed the province of Alsace from the presence of the Imperial troops. He now continued to carry on the campaign against Gallas in Lorraine; but, although he took several fortresses, little is recorded of his proceedings excepting some hair-breadth escapes. At Gaberu the bed on which he lay was shattered by a cannon-ball, and he lost the fore-finger of his left hand from a splinter.

He had the good fortune to surprise a body of Croatians at Champlitte, from whom he captured 1800 horses and a very rich booty.

Defeats the Bavarians under Mercy.

In the spring of 1636 he again visited Paris; with what precise object is not stated, but probably it was owing to the influence of the soft passion for the daughter of De Rohan. He, however, obtained fresh supplies of money, and was enabled to divest himself of his incompetent colleague the Cardinal, and to obtain from the King of France the bâton of supreme command of his army. The death of the Emperor Ferdinand II., in February, 1637, brought to the throne of Germany that King of Hungary who had been in command of the Imperial army that defeated Weimar at Nordlingen. The Swedish armies, however, had every where nearly recovered their prestige in Upper Germany under the command of Baner; and this roused Duke Bernhard into action; who, now relieved from the restraint of an incompetent colleague, was soon in the saddle, and with his wonted energy attacked the Bavarian General Mercy, who was posted near Besançon, where Weimar surprised him, and gained a victory by crossing the Saone, which he did himself on horseback at the head of his cavalry. He was, however, nearly taken prisoner towards the end of the same campaign, and only escaped capture by swimming a river.

Defeats the Duke de Savelli and John de Weerth: engages in single combat with the latter.

In 1638 the Protestant cause obtained a more brilliant turn. Duke Bernhard concerted a plan with General Baner to carry on the war by their combined operations in Suabia, and in pursuance of this arrangement he crossed the Rhine at Rheinfelden, and fell unawares on the forest towns of Laufenberg, Waldschut, and Seckingen. The Duke de Savelli, the Imperial General who commanded in that quarter, hastened by forced marches to the relief of the last-named important fortress, and succeeded in raising the siege by calling up to his aid the army of John de Weerth, who brought up nine regiments of cavalry and

four of infantry with such energy that they marched across the Black Forest for four days through deep snow. Duke Bernhard was in his head-quarters at Burken, on the right bank of the river, when he was informed of this junction. With great energy, and without the loss of a moment, he carried across the river cavalry and guns, and established himself in a strong position. Here he was attacked, and a bloody action ensued on the 21st February, which continued till night, and in which the Landgrave and the Duc de Rohan were mortally wounded, and De Weerth was severely cut through the cheek. The siege was therefore raised, and Duke Bernhard withdrew his entire force across the Rhine. Here he called in all his detachments, and resolved to have his revenge against his able opponent. De Weerth and Savelli had taken up their quarters in Duke Bernhard's old residence at Burken, and in the night of the 2nd March he suddenly crossed over, and effected a complete surprise upon this quarter. The Imperialist troops were scattered in the cantonments they occupied, and were slow in assembling; and it has been affirmed that in this interval Weimar and De Weerth maintained for some time a hand-to-hand encounter, so that the days of chivalry were not yet so passed away but that the soldiers of both armies could stand aloof, and look calmly on, regarding with satisfaction the bearing and behaviour of two such distinguished warriors. In the end the four Imperial Generals, Savelli, John de Weerth, Enkeford, and Sperreuter, with 2000 or 3000 men, became prisoners, and the rest of the Imperialists were left dead on the field. Duke Bernhard is represented to have fought on this occasion like a trooper, and to have mounted six different horses in the course of the battle.

Lays siege to the fortress of Breysach.

The taking of Rheinfelden, Röteln, and Friburg, was the immediate consequence of the Duke's victory; and he was enabled to pursue his successful raid in Suabia

undisturbed; so that in the month of June he sat down before Breysach, a virgin fortress on the Rhine. No place in this quarter was of more importance to the Emperor, and upon none had more care been bestowed. It was regarded as holding the complete command of the river, and as the key of Alsace, and had never yet been thrown into the arms of a conqueror. It was now garrisoned by 3000 men, under General von Rheinach. The strength of its works, and its natural defences, bade defiance to assault; nevertheless the Imperial Generals, the Duke of Feria, and Field-Marshal Goetz, were hastily sent down to keep the field, and to take measures to retain the fortress at any cost. Duke Bernhard, trusting to his good fortune, resolved to attempt its capture, though he had not the force sufficient to besiege it, as well as to cover the operation. Since its strength, however, under his paucity of means, rendered it impregnable, he endeavoured to obtain possession of it by starvation. This was supposed to be practicable from the extreme carelessness of the commandant, who had permitted his stores to be consumed, or sold off. No trenches therefore were opened, nor batteries erected; and an attempt to burn the bridge by fire-boats failed.

Repulses Goetz and the Duke of Lorraine. Breysach falls.

As, however, under the circumstances stated, the town could not long hold out unless it were immediately relieved or victualled, General Goetz rapidly advanced at the head of 12,000 men, accompanied by 3000 waggons laden with provisions, which he endeavoured to throw into the town. Duke Bernhard, however, on the watch for him, attacked him with so much vigour at Witteweyer, on the 7th August, that he lost his whole force excepting about 3000 men, together with his entire transport. A similar fate overtook the Duke of Lorraine, who advanced to Ochsenfeld near Thann, with the hope to throw into the fortress some flour and powder; and a second attempt of Goetz proved alike ineffectual. Breysach would not yield up her

virginity; and Duke Bernhard, falling sick, was obliged to quit his blockading army, and to retire to Colmar. Marshal Goetz, hearing of this incident, determined to take advantage of it, and on the 22nd of the same month made a dash to relieve the place at the head of 10,000 men. But Duke Bernhard, though prostrate on his sick bed, no sooner heard of his approach than he sprang up from his couch, bestrode his battle steed, and rushed to the aid of his army. His troops, inspired with fresh ardour at the sight of their General, pressed forward. At the moment, it is said, an eagle was observed to be hovering in the air over Duke Bernhard's head, which was regarded as a favourable omen, and added vigour to the combatants. After a dreadful struggle, Von Goetz was routed for the third time, and did not again seek to dispute the possession of Breysach, which surrendered, after a blockade of four months, on the 17th December, 1638. The condition in which the unfortunate garrison was found is recorded to have been most lamentable; many had died from sheer want; some had been driven to the most frightful extremes to mitigate their hunger, having actually eaten the bodies of their comrades, notwithstanding all the humane vigilance of their officers. The Governor was obliged to place a guard upon the burying-places, to prevent dead bodies from being disinterred and carried into the houses.

Obtains possession of the Brisgau.

The capture of Breysach opened a boundless field to the ambition of Duke Bernhard, and the vision of his aspiring hopes of a duchy was fast approaching to reality. Far from intending to yield up such a conquest to France, he had long destined it for the nucleus of a territory for himself. He now revealed his intentions by exacting allegiance from the vanquished to himself in direct terms, and not to any state or power. Intoxicated with his new successes, he began to entertain the boldest hopes, and believed he should be enabled to maintain his conquests even against France herself.

Breysach is situated in a territory called "The Brisgau," in the circle of Suabia. It stands on the right, or eastern bank of the Rhine, and is about fifty English miles in length, and thirty in breadth. It was at this period an appanage and part of the hereditary possessions of the House of Hapsburg, of which the city of Friburg was the capital, and Breysach the key against France. Bernhard had long since thrown off all allegiance to the Emperor, having indeed most consistently opposed him for a long succession of years, and shared in the inextinguishable hatred borne by all the Ernestine branch of the House of Saxony, on account of the indignity offered their ancestor, the Elector John Frederick, in his expulsion from the Electorate by the Emperor Charles V. It, perhaps, was not too lofty an inspiration for a young Prince of the deprived House —a lackland from his birth—to seek to obtain by military power the establishment of an independent state at the cost of the family who had wronged him. He actually possessed the entire Brisgau as a conqueror; but he somewhat overlooked the strength that had aided him in the conquest, when he thought no power could dispossess him of it. Richelieu had, it is believed, made some promise to Duke Bernhard; but he did not expect to find that the Prince would set him and his power at defiance. The possession of Breysach was most important to France, being, as has been stated, the key of the river; and so undisguisedly did the Cardinal assert his policy, that it is said he whispered in the ear of the Capuchin who had long been waiting in readiness to be despatched to that quarter, "Courage, Father Joseph; Breysach is ours!"

Negotiations with France.

As soon as the French Government was informed of the important conquest, the father was sent to Duke Bernhard to direct it to be conveyed by way of *Depositum* into French hands; but Richelieu received for answer, "To part with my conquests would be to sacrifice my honour: would you ask a virgin to make a sacrifice

of her chastity?" This resolve very much embarrassed the Cardinal, and no efforts were spared to prevail upon Bernhard to relinquish it. Great proposals were made to induce the Duke to visit Paris; and he was invited to receive the honours by which his triumph was to be commemorated. But he saw the net that was spread for him, and, knowing well the deceitfulness of the Court of Versailles, resolved to shun the seductive snare. Remonstrances were then addressed to him, and he was apprised that the capture had been effected by soldiers in the pay of France; and the summary mode was resorted to of putting an end to all argument by stopping the supplies. But Bernhard then betook himself to negotiation, and sent Louis Erlach[2] as his envoy to Paris, who induced the King not only to renew the supplies, but to send Bernhard a reinforcement of 8000 men; for it was in the interest of France at that moment not to break with the victorious General.

Duke Bernhard perceived, however, that it was necessary to strengthen his position, and saw no better expedient than some matrimonial alliance. The Cardinal, it is said, proposed to give him his niece and heiress, Margaret de Vignerot; but Duke Bernhard aspired to a Princess whose talents had been proved equal to her courage, and who with her hand could bestow valuable conquests, an extensive principality, and an independent and well-disciplined army. This was the unparalleled Amelia Landgravine of Hesse Cassel, who had just then laid aside her weeds of widowhood. Such an alliance deeply offended the sensitive Cardinal, who thought the proud German Prince regarded an alliance with his family as derogatory to the blood of Saxony, while it alarmed the French monarch beyond all conception. By the union of Bern-

[2] This Erlach, after having served both Gustavus Adolphus and Bernhard of Saxe Weimar with great fidelity, afterwards took service with Kings Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., and died Maréchal de France 1650.

hard with the Hessian possessions he might aspire, from the fame and renown he had now obtained, to form a new party in Germany, which might perhaps affect the fate of the war, and bring it to a termination without consulting the interests or the intermediary of French intrigues. But the misunderstanding with France had the most prejudicial influence upon Duke Bernhard's future career, if indeed it did not hasten the Prince's end.

Resolves to carry the war into Germany.

To divert the attention of the French Government, to satisfy the all-powerful minister, and to defer the crisis, Duke Bernhard thought it his best policy to open the campaign of 1639 as early as possible; and accordingly he advanced against a Spanish army that was cantoned in Burgundy. As he was neither expected nor very strongly opposed, he ran through that duchy, and seized a great part of it which had hitherto escaped the ravages of war. The unhappy peasantry, as usual, were robbed of their horses and stores of every description on which he could lay his hand, which were sent away to Breysach on his own account; but he made the province formally over to France. He then returned into the Brisgau, to watch over and protect his own possession from his many enemies round about. The new Emperor, well aware of the ill-will entertained towards him at Paris, with considerable address thought to avail himself of the circumstance to win the Prince of Saxe Weimar back to the interests of the Empire; and with this object he directed Savelli to sound his views on the matter. The agent was not, however, well chosen. The Duke de Savelli was a dupe of the Jesuit party, and was regarded by his opponents as a person of consistent baseness, who had broken his parole when made a prisoner at the affair of Burken, and therefore was not a man to appeal to Duke Bernhard "in the name of his country." Indeed this same man had ever since the capture of Breysach contrived to supplant by unworthy means his

worthier rival among the Imperialists—General Goetz, who had, as was thought, been thrown into prison on Savelli's misrepresentations. Under such circumstances it was not surprising that the Prince received the proposition of Savelli with scorn and contempt, and replied, "A Duke of Saxony needed no lesson of patriotism from an Italian Duke such as you." Duke Bernhard, moreover, regarded the step of the Emperor as insidious, and as taken either in bad faith or with the design of diverting his operations in the field; and accordingly he was only the more intent on taking vigorous measures for crossing the Rhine, and carrying the war into Germany.

His unexpected death.

The Swedish General Baner and he were still concerting their measures for penetrating into the Austrian dominions in Suabia, when all the revived hopes of the Confederates were again blasted by the sudden illness and death of Bernhard. A pestilential disorder had raged with considerable virulence in his camp, near Hunningen, and he fell sick, as was thought at first, from some fish that he had eaten. He accordingly had himself transported by boat to Neuburg. In the course of two days afterwards he expired, July 18, 1639. Almost all contemporary writers assert that the Prince was taken off by poison, and that some French emissary, instigated by no less a person than Cardinal Richelieu, had administered it. Such suspicions, in the condition of morals in the seventeenth century, and in the state of society of those times, were not unusual; but the accusations are deemed to have been amply refuted, since the livid spots which are said to have broken out on the Duke's body were common symptoms of his disorder, which was of the nature of the plague. Doubtless France was exceedingly desirous of getting the Brisgau out of Weimar's hands; and it is probable that the negotiations with the Duke Bernhard, through the intervention of Duke Savelli, may have been known at Paris; and that apprehensions may have

been entertained that the House of Hapsburg might thus recover possession of it. But such possible consequences might have been readily averted by other means than the assassination of a Prince General, who was in the midst of a French army, for he could have been seized and sent to Paris without any difficulty, if any considerations had counselled a present temporizing policy with the distinguished Commander of the Confederates.

His character, and personal appearance.

Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar was only in the thirty-sixth year of his age when he died, and in the very prime and zenith of manhood. He was a tall, handsome man, and rather proud of his external appearance. He was particularly vain of his exceeding black and shining head of hair, which lay in long bright curls upon his shoulders, in strong contrast to his bright clear complexion. The heroes of the time, as indeed of all times, are specimens of the fine gentlemen of their day. In the Thirty Years' War ruffs and scarfs were the excuse for military foppery; the former were of all varieties, some frilled to a considerable degree; but Duke Bernhard wore a flat sort, which fell down on his shoulders. The scarf, whose colour was arbitrary, was often richly embroidered and laced: the generals, however, were commonly armed *cap-à-pie;* their breastplates, helmets, and the junctures of their armour richly diapered with gold and silver. Bernhard of Weimar had a remarkably well-ordered mind, was humane and chaste in his temperament, and very religious, for it is recorded that he devoted several hours daily to the reading of his Bible, which he knew almost by heart. Indeed, he was of consistent piety in every thing excepting his unbounded ambition, and the intense pride that was at the bottom of it. He united the bravery of the soldier with the calm judgment of a general—the daring resolution of youth with the fortitude of manhood. Bernhard of Weimar was, in the truest sense of the expression, a soldier of fortune.

Born to no inheritance, he was necessarily the architect of his own fortunes. If he owed any thing to another man, it was to his friend Gustavus Adolphus, whom he adopted as his master, and who formed him into a skilful leader in war. He was, of all the generals of that school, the most successful imitator of his eminent model. In both, the wild ardour of the warrior was tempered by the sober dignity of their princely bringing up—the moderation of a firm hand with the high-minded sensitiveness of the man of honour. Discouraged by no misfortunes, he quickly rose again, like his master, in full vigour from the severest defeats—no obstacles could check his enterprise, no disappointment conquer his indomitable perseverance; but unlike his prototype, his genius soared after unattainable objects, and his ambition coveted illicit ones; perhaps some allowance must be made for men who lived in the atmosphere of the "Thirty Years' War," who cannot be measured by the rigid standard of modern morality. Men of those days, who felt themselves capable of accomplishing great undertakings, were readily induced to form the most daring plans, because they were sure to lead to mighty results of every day's occurrence; and this was the pitfall into which our hero fell. With the faith of a Christian, the mind of a gentleman, and the devotion of a soldier, his ambition tempted him to an act that was offensive to morality, unworthy of his station, and disgraceful to military allegiance. He took the pay of France, and endeavoured to appropriate the purchase to an acquisition for himself. Death alone saved him from the penalty of the transgression. "Bernhard affords a splendid example to modern history of those days of chivalry, when personal prowess commanded weight and influence—when individual bravery and noble bearing could conquer kingdoms, and the heroic exploits of a mere knight raise men to the steps of an Imperial throne." Grotius says of him, "Germany was deprived by the death

of this Prince of her greatest ornament and of her last hope—of almost the only one then worthy of the name of a German Prince. The Confederates lost in him their best general. France was relieved by his death from a very dangerous competitor, and the Emperor from a bitter personal enemy." The activity and energy of Bernhard were remarkable, and he is a pregnant example of the very great value of a robust and mature corporeal frame in war. His contemporaries all rank him high among the heroes of the "Thirty Years' War," and Turenne, who had seen some of his first service under his lead, always acknowledged the Duke of Weimar to have been his preceptor in war.

Behaviour in his last moments.

When it was announced to Duke Bernhard that his hour was come, he performed all the duties of a good Christian, and called his principal officers around his dying bed. He expressed to them the great grief he experienced at that moment for all the avarice and bad passions of his military career, and exhorted them, for their own peace of mind, to watch against them. He then made a disposition of all his effects. His war-horse, "Raven," he bequeathed to the Count of Nassau, and his sword to his friend and fellow-commander, Marshal Guebriant, who did not survive him more than four years. He left large sums of money to the generals of his army, and to all the colonels who served under him a thousand pounds in money to each. He also gave sums to his chaplain and to all his domestics; but the bulk of his property, or residue, which is said to have amounted to nearly £20,000 sterling, was directed to be divided amongst all the soldiers. If any thing could be claimed as his own among the conquests of Alsace and Suabia, he bequeathed it by will to his elder brother William, Duke of Saxe Weimar[3].

[3] Kriegs-Kunst Lexikon, Schiller, Harte, Menzel, &c.

JOHANN GUSTAF VON BANER, OR BANIER,

A SWEDISH GENERAL.

Born 1596. Died 1641.

Antiquity and influence of his family.

THE family is an ancient one in Sweden, and was regarded in former times as a very influential one. The father of our hero, Gustaf von Baner, was a councillor of the kingdom; and in the religious disputes of the sixteenth century he embraced the Protestant religion, and accordingly sided with those who took part in opposition to the pretensions of Sigismund, King of Poland, to the Swedish throne, who was deemed to have forfeited his birthright by the profession of the Roman Catholic faith. He took a conspicuous and leading part in the controversy, and, after adhering to his opinions during the long war that ensued on this account, he at length perished on the scaffold, a victim to his faith and constancy, in 1600.

His birth and education.

Johann Gustaf was his second son, and was born at Diursholm in 1596. It is said that when quite a youth he fell from a window four or five stories high, and luckily escaped with slight injury: but so little alarm did he evince, that he neither uttered a groan nor shed a tear; and the incident, becoming much spoken of, came to the ears of the King, who pronounced him to be fit for great deeds, and at once gave him his countenance and protection, which eventually made a great soldier of him.

Is noticed and promoted by the King.

When Gustavus Adolphus ascended the Swedish throne in 1611, it was natural enough that a member of a family who had stood by the cause of Vasa should receive his countenance, and he made the young Johann Gustaf a kammer-junker, or page, about his person and Court, in 1614, which was soon followed by a commission in the army. His promotion was not slow, for in 1620 he was already a captain, and in 1625 a colonel. His education at home may have been a little neglected in his orphan state; but he had good natural parts, and took pains upon his introduction at Court to overcome his defects both by observation and industry, so that the King was wont to call him in after life one of his learned generals. A pleasant anecdote is preserved about this, that on the occasion of a council of war some intercepted letters being brought in to the King, he ordered a venerable grey-headed General on his right hand to read them, but he excused himself on the ground, that he had lost his spectacles. He accordingly turned to the veteran on his left, but he complained of a stye in his eye, on which Gustavus exclaimed, "Oh, I see how it is! General Baner, pray read; you are used to it." His generals were not for the greater part adepts in reading or writing. Nevertheless the correspondence of Baner in later days with Marshal Guebriant, which has been published in that Marshal's life, is spoken of with commendation. It relates as well to politics as to war, and proves

him to have been a man of refinement as well as of cultivated intellect.

He made his first *essai d'armes* in the army of the King in the Polo-Swedish wars, and under His Majesty's eye, for he held a commission in the body-guard; he soon acquired the royal protection and a name; so that at the siege of Riga, in 1621, where he was grievously wounded, he and his friend Gustavus Horn both received the honour of knighthood from the hands of Gustavus, as a public approbation of their bravery. In 1629 Baner was made a Senator; and when, in 1630, the King embarked for Germany, Baner had become Reichsrath, or Privy Councillor, and in that capacity was immediately about the royal person; but the King had previously nominated him Lieutenant-General, and, having constituted himself Admiral supreme of the expedition, he named Lieutenant-General Baner as the officer next to himself in authority, desiring him to assume the command of the third division of the fleet; the first division being given to the High-Admiral Gildenheim, and the second to the Watch-Master-General of the Navy. The duty was arduous, and occasionally very hazardous, for the expedition was five weeks before it reached the shore of the isle of Usedom; and doubtless the responsibility of so large a military force, confined so long to ship-board, would demand the exhibition of considerable qualities from any one. His first campaign.

After landing, Baner accompanied the King as far as Stettin, when he was detached in command of a separate force, including the Scotch regiments of Reay and Mackay, in the pay of Sweden, in which served the famous Robert Monro, the prototype of Dugald Dalgetty, who has left the most graphic account of the campaigns of the Swedes, 1630-7. Baner's orders were to make himself master of Damm, a small fortification within sight of the Swedish army. He found a peasant, who offered to conduct the detach- He surprises Damm.

ment over a morass that had but one causeway, which was guarded and deemed impassable; but as soon as it became known to the inhabitants that they were likely to be attacked by the Swedes, they behaved like good politicians, for they knew that, although the approaches to the town were difficult, they were not impassable, and that a town taken by storm became subject to every sort of violence and indiscriminate plunder: accordingly, without the knowledge of the garrison, they sent to Baner to promise to open a postern gate for him, if he would postpone his advance till night: and thus he had little difficulty in getting admission, though the garrison contrived to make their escape.

He takes Wolgast by storm.

Baner was subsequently ordered to blockade Wolgast, a seaport at the confluence of the Pene, when, having made himself master of the city by storm, he took the castle by capitulation, after expending 8000 shot against its walls. As soon as the King advanced into Brandenburg, he sent Baner to supersede Todt in the blockade of Gripswald, a strong fortress in Pomerania, seated on the river Rik, and commanding a good harbour. It was the only seaport that remained to the Emperor upon the Baltic Sea, and was therefore well garrisoned under one Perusi, a Croatian officer of distinction, and Knight of the Golden Fleece, who had of course proved himself inflexible to every sinister attempt to induce him to surrender, for he had not only resisted the blockade for some months, but had in the course of it increased the defences so judiciously, that when the King himself repaired to the besiegers' camp before the place, he confessed to Baner that he was greatly surprised at the fortifications, for he had witnessed nothing contrived upon such good principles before. Perusi's character was that of a brave soldier, but he had the weakness of being inordinately avaricious, so that Baner thought he would try the effect of address, and wrote to the Governor a civil letter, insinuating "that he had interest enough with the King to procure him very

soldier-like conditions in case he was disposed for a capitulation." It was known that Perusi had not been very scrupulous in the use of his power, and had rendered himself exceedingly unpopular, having exercised some most unchristian excesses and cruelties in his eagerness to heap up wealth for himself in the town; Baner therefore indirectly alluded to this while he exhorted him not to sacrifice the body of brave troops that formed his garrison. Perusi's answer was very laconic,—"that it was not convenient to him to leave the town so suddenly, but that he would consult his Generalissimo—Tilly—on the matter."

Gripswald capitulates to him.

The Croatian Governor continued the defence of Gripswald, but his appetite for fighting, right or wrong, was so well known, that Baner adopted another ruse, by laying an ambuscade against him. Means were taken by the Swedish troops to twit and jeer the men of the garrison for their keeping so much at home; and the taunts became so galling that Perusi could not endure them. Accordingly, he was tempted to a sally, in the execution of which he was imprudent enough to wear the gold chain of his order above his armour. He led forth his Croatian cavalry without the least misgiving; but as soon as these undisciplined riders descried the ambush they deserted their Governor, and though he fought heroically and with his colours by him to the last, yet the desire to possess so valuable a booty as the gold chain about his neck cost him his life, and he was overcome by his assailants. He was an Italian by birth, and as great an astrologer as Wallenstein, undertaking nothing without consulting the stars, which in this case sadly deceived him. His successor was named Drachsted, who, on being summoned, sent word that the loss of the late Governor was merely a personal matter, and that the honour and resolution of the garrison did not in sympathy perish with their commander. However, after a good show of resistance, he found it his interest to capitulate, as the Croatians

had been offered express conditions, and were no longer to be relied on. Drachsted, however, rose upon the escort under which he was marching to Rostock, and endeavoured to march his garrison in a contrary direction to Havelburg; but the Swedish Colonel Hall resisted the attempt, and in the encounter Drachsted was killed. The possession of Gripswald was of so much consideration with Gustavus that he appointed a solemn thanksgiving to God for the security that it gave him in his undertaking; and it added, doubtless, to his estimate of the favourite young General who had won it.

He negotiates the treaty of Bernwalt.

The King, who was alike industrious in the cabinet as in the field, contrived about this time to negotiate treaties with the Archbishop of Bremen, the Duke of Luneburg, and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel: but now he was waited upon in the camp of Bernwalt by De Charnacé, on the part of France, and by an English Ambassador, who came out in succession to Sir Thomas Roe, who had found himself obliged to return to London. This new British envoy proceeded upon principles diametrically opposite to those of his predecessor, and wearied Gustavus by a long series of appeals to induce him to require the restitution of the Palatinate to the King of England's kinsman; but as he was not commissioned to offer supplies of men and money, the King would not allow him to come near him. The Frenchman, however, offered both, and was admitted. Baner accordingly was colleagued with Gustavus Horn (both being of the Reichsrath), to negotiate the treaty of Bernwalt. The whole cast and form of this treaty has been considered a masterpiece of political science, and reflected much honour upon its framers. A short time after it was concluded between France and Sweden, England and Holland acceded to it.

Siege and capture of Demmin.

While the politicians at Bernwalt employed themselves with their portfolios, and during the debates that attended the progress of this treaty, the King took the

field both by himself and his lieutenants, paying no regard to one of the most severe winters that Germany had felt for many years. He availed himself, indeed, of the advantages offered by frost to transport his artillery across deep morasses that might otherwise have proved impassable, and now sat down before Demmin, a place of great importance as the key to the Duchy of Mecklenburg. This fortress had been constituted by Wallenstein (in his new quality of Grand Duke) the grand Imperial magazine in the North of Germany. No less a person than Duke Savelli was made its governor, with a garrison of 1700 veterans and selected men. To Baner was entrusted the direction of the approaches before the town, and to Kniphausen was given the command against the castle. The former having repelled a sally of the besieged, and made a lodgment in one of the half-moons, the other at the same time proceeded against the old structure by mine, which shortly brought about its surrender. His Majesty, having thus become master of the castle, ordered the crimson ensigns of the captured garrison to be displayed in a bravado, by way of encouraging another assault against the town which Baner now ordered to be made, and which was met by a desperate sally from the besieged, which he repulsed with great success, conducting the whole engagement with so much valour and presence of mind, that the King, who witnessed it from a distance, bestowed the greatest commendations upon his able and soldier-like proceedings. On the fourth morning afterwards the place surrendered on terms, and Gustavus gave charge of Demmin to no less a person than General Baner, who had captured it, as he apprehended that Tilly might make serious attempts to recover it again. Indeed, letters were found in the Governor's chancery in which the most urgent representations had been made that the place should hold out if only for four days longer, when it should receive certain assistance; and Tilly

was incensed against Savelli for yielding up possession of it.

The Swedes take Frankfort on the Oder, and Landsberg.

Tilly, however, did not venture to attack Baner at Demmin, but marched past it and stormed New Brandenburg, on the Tollensee. This was garrisoned by 2000 men under Kniphausen, a highly approved officer, whom the King styled his Sergeant-Major-General. Gustavus, knowing that the town was destitute of artillery, had given that General orders that he should withdraw from it if attacked, and save his men; but he would shut himself up in the castle with his own family and many of the principal persons of the place, and after eight days he only gave up possession upon conditions; but he lost there nine stand of colours, which gave his royal master no small concern, as it was the first loss of the kind that had yet befallen him in Germany. It was thought that Tilly did not show himself a great commander in occupying himself against so unimportant a place, instead of marching direct on Magdeburg; for New Brandenburg was so little worth the capture, that the Swedes regained possession of it immediately after the Imperialists had quitted it. The habit of besieging towns was the great vice of the strategy of this period. It will be observed, indeed, that it constituted its chief element. It was probably rather owing to the prestige attaching to the improved study of fortification, and to the influence which attached to the negotiations with the petty sovereigns to whom strong places were valuable for state objects. Gustavus Adolphus, for example, thinking that he could do the cause better service by working upon the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, through the threatened possession of their fortresses, gave himself at this time no concern for Magdeburg, but ordered Baner to join him forthwith at Frankfort on the Oder, which he immediately invested, and, though the garrison escaped, he stormed and got possession of the place; and, having made Leslie governor of the

fortress, he marched away with twelve pieces of battering cannon under Torstenson, and laid siege to Landsberg, which surrendered after eight days' siege.

Baner lays siege to Magdeburg.

The King, leaving Baner with an army about the Oder, marched next to Potsdam, where, after being well received by the Elector, and splendidly entertained by his Queen's relatives, he gave over the further beleaguerment of fortified places; and, matters having now become ripe for it, he opened his grand project of marching his principal army into the heart of Germany; but, with that prudence which was His Majesty's great characteristic, he determined previously to secure Havelburg, which he heard that Pappenheim had just vacated, in order to assume the command of the siege of Magdeburg, and he therefore directed Baner to march forth and make himself master of that place by assault, for it gave him a secure base to work from in his projected advance. The attack was made unexpectedly, sword in hand, at break of day, and the Swedish soldiers crossed the river—though the water reached up to their shoulders—with astonishing resolution, and got within the walls. The garrison of 430 surrendered themselves prisoners.

Arrival of the English contingent under the Marquis of Hamilton.

It was about this time that 6000 English, under the Marquis of Hamilton, arrived at the camp of Gustavus, and these were placed in the division of the Swedish army habitually commanded by Baner. The insufferable presumption of the young Scotch Marquis was most distasteful to the experienced and hardy Swede, who, as being himself well born, would not bate the Marquis one jot in the articles of pride and self-opinion. In vain Hamilton added remonstrance to remonstrance, in order to obtain the supreme direction of his own force; but the King did not venture to trust this inexperienced young nobleman with an independent command, and chose to join an adviser or counsellor with him, or, in other words, one of the ablest generals then in Europe. Baner therefore, in spite of the Scotch

nobleman, not only affected the superior command, but was resolved to exercise it, and with this object obtained and carried in his pocket the King's written authority, in case their disputes on the subject should proceed to extremity.

Baner at Breitenfeld: invests Magdeburg.

In September, 1631, Baner took part in the battle of Breitenfeld, or Leipzig, in which he commanded on the right flank, that for the most part was composed of cavalry. He distinguished himself in two overwhelming charges at the head of the Rhinegrave's horse against the Imperialists under Pappenheim, in which one regiment was cut to pieces, and the Duke of Holstein slain, so that he obtained from Tilly from this time the appellation of "the Lion of Sweden." In the after course of the battle Baner was obliged to hasten to the assistance of the King; for Pappenheim had showed himself quicker in rallying than his opponents were in the habit of doing, and with much expedition had turned against the other flank, and pressed hard upon the Swedes. It is related that it was in the heat of this rencounter that Pappenheim and Gassion fought for a considerable time hand to hand, in the sight of their respective armies. After the victory, when Gustavus carried forward his army in pursuit of the Imperialists towards the Rhine, Baner gained much reputation by the ability he showed in watching Pappenheim, who, with the only Imperial force under arms, still hovered about the bishopric of Magdeburg. He proved his good generalship in avoiding all the inducements that were offered him to fight; for the King's somewhat rash march had made it imperative that the various flying armies of the Swedes which now occupied the northern and north-eastern parts of Germany, should avoid all combat. In October, however, we find Baner investing Magdeburg, which, with Hamilton and the English under him, he continued to do for six weeks or more, until about January, 1632. Pappenheim, however, retired out of the bishopric alto-

gether, and retreated across the Weser to Hameln. Although Hamilton found great fault with Baner's tactics, the English with the Swedes followed after the Imperialists and took Goslar, Nordheim, Gottingen, and Erichsberg; but at length the Scotch Marquis quitted Baner's division altogether, and went to join the King at Frankfort, and there was thenceforward no English division with the Swedish army.

Drives the Imperialists out of Bavaria.

Tilly had in the mean time been again put in motion by his master, the Elector of Bavaria, in order to assist the Bishop of Bamberg in the restitution to his dominions, who had urgently demanded his assistance; when, having easily overwhelmed the weak detachment left in that city under Gustavus Horn, he so seriously threatened the country about the Danube, that the King found himself compelled to break up from the valley of the Rhine, and hastened to reappear in force in Franconia. Accordingly, he called back the independent armies, under Baner and Duke William of Weimar, from the North, who effected their junction with the royal army at Aschaffenburg in March, 1632, when the Swedish forces under Gustavus were enabled to put a stop to Tilly's conquests, and to follow after him to his fatal encounter behind the Lech. In all this campaign Baner served with the King's army. When again, on the reappearance of Wallenstein, Gustavus quitted Bavaria and took up his camp at Nuremberg, Baner was left with 8000 men at Augsburg, and he afterwards recovered Munich, and drove the Imperial army under General Cratz out of Bavaria: Baner was again recalled by his royal master to aid him in his attempt to force the lines of Altenberg Castle, but he is not, however, found on the sad field of Lutzen, for he had been despatched to the valley of the Maine and Neckar, there to unite with a force under Duke William of Weimar, which was placed under Oxenstierna's orders, while the Chancellor was stirring to obtain some favourable decision from the four Upper

Circles of Germany at the period of the fatal battle. After the death of the King, his master and early friend, Baner was so affected, that he earnestly requested his dismission, but it was refused him, and he was ordered to remain with the army with the rank of Field-Marshal.

Universal success of the Swedish arms.

In a review of the important events which signalized the campaign that followed Lutzen in 1633, the inactivity of Wallenstein excited the greatest astonishment, for after that defeat he seems to have quitted for a time the seat of war. It was in every respect the turning-point of the great war, and a new set of chieftains appear in the field. The war in Suabia, in 1633, was conducted by Gustavus Horn, and on the Danube by Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, with much success, while the Swedish arms were as gloriously sustained in Lower Saxony and Westphalia by Baner. The fortress of Hamil was at this period taken, and a brilliant victory was obtained over the Imperial General Gronsfeld, at Oldendorf, when sixteen guns and seventy-four stand of colours fell into the hands of the Swedes. Thus the Swedish banners were victorious in almost every quarter of Germany, and in the year immediately after the death of Gustavus no trace of the loss which had been sustained in the person of the great leader, who was deemed the soul of the conflict, was very apparent.

In 1634 Baner is said to have been sent into Silesia, to command a Confederate force in opposition to the great Wallenstein: but it is quite impossible either to understand this mission, or to collect from any of the histories of the period what part he acted in the great German war at the period of the murder of the Duke of Friedland in February of that year; nor is his name mentioned in any of the operations which preceded, or which succeeded, the defeat of the great Swedish army under Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar at Nordlingen, on the 26th August, 1634. We literally have no mention

whatever of Baner from the death of Gustavus until 1635.

A heavier blow for the Swedes than even the battle of Nordlingen had signalized the year 1634, when the Elector of Saxony concluded the Peace of Prague with the Emperor. Never in the whole course of the war had the prospects of the Swedes looked more gloomy than in the year 1635, when that treaty was concluded, and the Elector of Saxony called away from the Swedish ranks all his subjects who until that time served in the army of Baner, which was encamped upon the Elbe. The Swedish army was necessarily exposed to the greatest danger by the loss of so much of its strength, and by the hostility of the country, which now showed itself demonstrably in that in which it was quartered. In a treacherous and deceitful spirit John George ordered the dispersed Swedish detachments to be attacked suddenly by the Electoral army before any declaration of hostilities was made. Baner, as soon as he was apprised that this step had been consummated, recalled to his own head-quarters his absent divisions under Duval, Klange, and Ruthven. But at the same moment the Saxons made a hostile movement, with a view of driving the Swedes out of Pomerania and the Baltic, by unexpectedly sitting down, with 7000 men, to besiege Dömitz. As, however, they were neither provided in this hasty proceeding with artillery nor cavalry, Ruthven led his men boldly against the besiegers, and almost annihilated their army under the command of Bauditzen, killing some thousand men, and taking prisoners as many more.

The Peace of Prague: siege of Dömitz.

It happened, very fortunately, that just at this time a Swedish army, that had been sent into Prussia under old Jacob de la Gardie and Torstenson, became available; for through the mediation of France, England, Holland, and Brandenburg, a new armistice with Poland had been brought about in September, 1635, which

Baner commands in chief the Swedish armies.

enabled the Swedish Senate to desire that Torstenson should carry this new army into Germany. He accordingly marched along the shores of the Baltic towards Pomerania, where Baner rested with his army. Ever since the first moment when Gustavus Adolphus slept in his hammock in Stettin, the dream of obtaining the reversion of Pomerania to Sweden on the death of its childless sovereign was entertained. At this moment, then, Sten Bielke, the Swedish resident at Stettin, a statesman of considerable ability, to whom had been entrusted the protection of the government of Pomerania, apprised the Field-Marshal that the last hours of the dying Duke Bogislaus approached. It was well known that the Elector of Brandenburg had beheld with great misgiving this intrusion of Sweden into the concerns of his neighbour, and the more so, as the reversion of the Duke Bogislaus had by the Treaty of Prague been given to himself. He had accordingly recourse to both secret and open measures to kindle discontent among the people of the land; so that it required all the address of Sten Bielke, and all his courage, firmness, and ability, to maintain the interests of his country at Stettin, which was not very strongly garrisoned. He therefore called to his assistance both Baner and Torstenson, who, having reinforced the garrison, formed a junction at Malchin in November, 1635, and repaired to the summons of the negotiator with a compact army of 7000 foot and 9000 horse under the two ablest generals of Sweden. Gustavus Adolphus had erst, in the pride of his heart, pointed out to De Charnacé at his first audience that all his lieutenants "were warriors," but had especially noted Baner as the most capable of holding command. It may admit of some surprise why this opinion was not earlier acted upon, but now Oxenstierna confirmed it.

Baner's firmness in repressing a mutinous

The whole state of affairs in Germany had, however, been so much changed by the Treaty of Prague, that it required all the perseverance and vigour of the

Swedish councils to know how to act. Nearly all Germany was now hostile to their pretensions to obtain German possessions; and new enemies declared themselves against this ambition every day and on every side. Their military chest and magazines were at a very low ebb long since; and as it was necessary to live upon the land, so that they became yet more obnoxious to the people, the discipline of the Swedish troops was in consequence seriously deteriorated, and so many acts of violence perpetrated, that individually the men were exposed to personal danger from their licentiousness, duplicity, and cruelty. The relaxation of military duty produced in a short time, as it ever will do, insubordination and mutiny against the military rule, and Baner had need of all his firmness and boldness to keep it down. A deputation of mutineers waited upon the Field-Marshal to state their grievances. Without losing his presence of mind for an instant, he anticipated all they came to say by reproaching the officers for the disorderly state of the men, and the outrages they were committing, and said, "I will suffer it no longer, but will punish those alike who commit the offences, and you who ought to keep them down, and maintain order." Then, ordering one of the Colonels, who appeared to be a spokesman, to follow him into an inner room, he added, "Do not think me a fool, to permit such proceedings and remain silent; I will take the heads of yourself and the other ringleaders, unless you instantly take 200 horse, and put an end to these disorderly proceedings." The unfortunate Colonel, finding his own head to be the first in jeopardy, and awed, perhaps, by the authoritative menace of his commander, went out, and did as he was ordered; and having brought in four men as prisoners, they were immediately ordered to death in presence of the troops, and the mutiny was quelled.

spirit among his troops.

The Saxon troops had their head-quarters at Parchim, when the Swedish army at length put itself in

motion, and their advance of cavalry encountered several regiments of Electoral horse near Goldberg and Kyritz, who were in a short time dispersed and captured, with the loss of eleven standards. The whole army was subsequently easily driven back as far as the Havel. The Saxon army had a camp, however, at Perleburg on that river, and in January, 1636, an engagement occurred at Havelüac, between Geleen on the part of the Imperialists, and the Swedish General Kniphausen, in which the latter distinguished friend and Sergeant-Major-General of Gustavus Adolphus was unfortunately killed, although his antagonists were driven off the field. In February Baner visited the defection of John George upon his wretched people by breaking into the Electorate, and ravaging it between the Saale and Werra. On this Hatzfeld was despatched against the Swedes, and they fell back on Magdeburg. Each side now confined itself to manœuvring until the arrival of reinforcements. The Saxons, in order to cover the march of a detachment of 5000 men under General Klitzing, quitted their camp; and Baner, determined to engage them before they could effect a junction, came up with them at Wittstock on the 24th of September, 1636.

The battle of Wittstock.

The Saxon army was posted on an eminence above the surrounding plain protected by a wood, and was fortified with artillery behind earthworks. Baner determined to turn the wood by his left wing, while he marched away his right wing in the hope that the appearance of only a small force on either flank might invite an attack from the Saxons, and draw them out of their stronghold. The manœuvre succeeded, and the Saxons poured their whole strength against the flank of the right wing in their march, and Baner immediately ordered Torstenson to attack them in their advance, who sent Colonel Guan, with all his cavalry, against the movement, while Baner, with five brigades of infantry, followed in support, and General Statens,

with the cavalry of the left wing, charged the Imperialists. The Fins fought bravely, but were compelled to give way before the overpowering numbers of the enemy, when Leslie with five regiments of Scottish infantry came up to their aid; but these also were overcome, and two or three of the regiments lost their colours. Baner thought the battle to be lost, but this partial disgrace incited the Scots to fresh courage; and Stahlhausen, with some cavalry, arriving on the field at the opportune moment, restored the battle. Not a Swedish regiment but charged and rallied as often as ten times, and were almost exhausted, when the second line under Vitzhum came up to renew the attack, and caught the enemy's flank, when the whole Imperialist array was utterly routed, leaving 5000 on the field. Hatzfeld was among the wounded; and the unfortunate Elector, who was himself a witness of the disaster, lost the whole of his baggage and treasure: 150 standards, 23 guns, and 2000 prisoners were the trophies of the victory.

Excesses committed by the victorious Swedes.

The battle of Wittstock restored lustre to the Swedish arms, and added largely to the reputation of Baner. It was indeed a severe blow to the Emperor, for nothing could now stop the conqueror. He drove the fugitives through Saxony, Thuringia, and Hesse, into Westphalia, and the whole country was laid waste by the unscrupulous troops. Meissen, Wurzen, Oschatz, Colditz, Liebwerda, and several smaller towns were reduced to ashes. The peasants fled to the fortified cities or to the mountains, and famine and pestilence soon added their horrors to the sword and the firebrand. The historians of the period graphically describe the exceeding misery of the land at this imminent period of the struggle, which is also marked by the death of the great author of the war, Ferdinand II. "At the moment that the old Emperor closed his eyes, the misery of Germany had reached the highest pitch. On his accession to the throne he found Austria Lu-

theran, but thickly populated and prosperous: he left her Catholic, depopulated and impoverished. He found in Bohemia three million Hussites, dwelling in flourishing cities and villages; and he left it occupied by 780,000 Catholic beggars. He found Silesia happy and blooming: it was now desolate, together with Saxony, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Hesse, and the whole Palatinate." An old Bohemian chronicler exclaims, "Ah, mein Gott! in what a miserable condition stand all our cities! How wretched stand our little towns, villages, and hamlets! There they lie burned and destroyed, so that neither roof, beam, doors, nor windows, are to be seen in them; and the churches! they have been for the most part desecrated by both friend and foe; many are burned; the bells carried away; the most holy places converted into slaughter-houses and shambles, stables and barracks; the very altars being selected for especial defilement! Nor did even the soldier flourish among the desolation caused by his own rapine, for, driven by necessity as well as by the madness of lust and power, they continually engaged in mortal combat with one another, for the sake of the very morsel held by the famishing wretches whom they oppressed. The peasantry at length combined for their own security, and became as much marauders as the soldiers. Sometimes these aided one party, and sometimes another; sometimes they joined with the military in their predatory excursions; sometimes they cruelly avenged themselves upon them for their licentiousness and plunder." Baner perhaps was not especially deserving of the blame attaching to this state of things, but there is little question that from the death of Gustavus Adolphus the war had changed altogether from being a religious one, and had become, like the gladiatorial encounters of the circus, a mere display of skill amidst blood and the desire of gain, without any national quarrel or principle of any kind. The Germans were less to blame than the Swedes, because they had to protect their families and their homesteads;

whereas the latter intruders upon the Empire made it the means of maintenance and existence, and generals, such as Baner, made it a source of wealth.

Baner lays siege to Torgau, but is forced to raise it: his critical position, and narrow escape.

In the mean while the Swedish army reduced many fortresses and strong towns, and took up their winter-quarters in Misnia. But it was no part of the Swedish habit in war to lose precious time through fear of a little severity of weather; so that early in the spring of 1637 they surprised eight Saxon regiments near Eulenberg, cutting them to pieces and pursuing them into Torgau, of which fortress they also at this time obtained possession. Baner then sat down with a considerable siege-train before Leipzig; but the Imperial armies having assembled to prevent its capture, the Swedes, when on the very point of proceeding to the assault, were forced to raise the siege in great haste, and to march back to Torgau, around which Baner at once commenced an intrenched camp. Torstenson lent his able assistance to this work, and with so much advantage, that the Swedish army, only 14,000 strong, was enabled to keep here at bay 60,000 opponents, under the command of the most renowned and experienced generals, from February 18th to June 19th. The camp of Torgau was one of the most remarkable achievements of the kind recorded in these early military annals, by which Baner, under great disadvantages, kept the cause alive for four whole months, in the very centre of an overwhelming force of the enemy.

Baner with great difficulty effects a timely junction with Wrangel.

He certainly was continually buoyed up with the hope that he might see Wrangel arrive with fresh reinforcements from Sweden; but at length the Imperialists so hemmed him up with their superior numbers, that he could not obtain subsistence for his troops; and it became absolutely necessary that, as Wrangel could not come to Baner, Baner must make his way as he could to meet Wrangel. Having spread the report, therefore, that he contemplated a removal to Erfurt, he abandoned all his positions, and such baggage as he

could spare, and crossed the Elbe on the 19th June. He was vigorously pursued by the Imperialists, but was nevertheless enabled to reach the Oder and achieve its passage at Furstenberg on the 23rd; his troops fording the river neck-deep, and assisting the horses to draw the artillery and baggage across, the Generals themselves setting the example to assist in this labour. Baner then pushed on to the Warta, which he hoped to cross at Landsberg, but here he found Gallas and Marzin in position with so vast an army that it occupied three miles of position. Disappointed still of obtaining aid from Wrangel, Baner was now in a greater strait than ever, and he could only rely on his own resources and those of his tried brothers in command, and on the valour of his troops. In his rear lay a country he had fearfully pillaged and laid waste as he marched along, and of which the inhabitants were of course bitterly hostile to the Swedes; on his left lay the mighty Oder guarded by the Imperial Generals, Buckheim and Isolani; on the right, Poland, into which he did not dare to enter on account of the armistice that existed between the kingdoms. It may be explained that Gallas had followed the Swedish army by the shorter road of the bridge of Custrin, and had therefore headed Baner before he could reach the Warta. Under such circumstances who would not have pronounced the Swedish army utterly lost? Having neither pontoons to bridge the stream, nor boats to descend it, there appeared no option but death or captivity. Gallas wrote to Vienna, "Now we have caught Baner in a sack,"—a matter which subsequently became an incident of immortal ridicule. Without losing his presence of mind, Baner ostentatiously ordered a feigned march through Poland, designating a route through that kingdom into Pomerania, and directing in general orders that his officers should maintain the most rigid discipline as he passed through the friendly land, and pay with scrupulous regularity for all provisions and

other necessaries in ready money. For his wife and immediate attendants he even solicited passports from the Polish authorities, and sent them off with the principal portion of his baggage in that direction. Immediately after the Swedish army was put in movement, the Imperialists, as Baner was persuaded they would do, advanced towards the river Netse or Notez, over which they hastened to construct bridges in order to intercept the Swedes, amid the forests along which they must pass. Triumphing in the first success of this *ruse de guerre*, Baner ostentatiously burnt baggage and destroyed guns, and, taking advantage of a spy in his camp, he caused him to behold it all, in order that he might inform Gallas of it. Knowing the headlong bravery of Baner, the lofty resolution of Torstenson, the courage of Stalhanske, and the intrepidity of the Swedes as a people, the Imperialist General did not doubt but that the attempt would be made to cut their way through their opponents, and he accordingly ordered his troops to hasten by forced marches to bar the entrance into Poland. Buckheim also abandoned his position behind the Oder in order to follow in the chase, which was made as vigorously as if the Swedes had been game, and the Imperialists hunters. The respective divisions and *corps d'armée* hurried helter-skelter as though to "head the fox." Suddenly, about nine at night, while the enemy were in full cry, the Swedish army changed their direction of march, and, unobserved and unobstructed, wheeled round to the left and crossed the Oder not far from Goritz. With the greatest rapidity they descended the stream, and before they reached Stettin had the happiness to come up with and effect a junction with Wrangel just on the very field where Gustavus Adolphus had assembled his army seven years before.

Baner's witty repartee.

Thus saved as by a miracle from the capture that impended over him, Baner had succeeded in drawing himself out of a most perilous situation without in-

curring the slightest loss. "They have caught me in a sack, have they?" said Baner; "but they have forgot to tie it up, and to darn up a trifling hole that there was at the bottom of it." It is said, that from this saying of the Swedish Field-Marshal originated a caricature at Vienna that became well known all over Europe, and also that the common expression in French parlance of *cul-de-sac* was derived from this saying. The astonishment and self-reproaches of the allied commanders, when they found that they had lost all trace of the Swedish army in the direction in which they were hurrying, and when they heard the next day that Baner had escaped beyond the Oder and was united with Wrangel, may be well imagined; but this excellent piece of strategy added immensely to the reputation of the Swedish chief, and Baner was esteemed a general of the very first order, and a master of the military art.

The Swedes driven from Central Germany.

Nevertheless the condition of the Swedish army in Germany was still most precarious. Baner, indeed, fell back to the sea-coast, and only held possession of his base while Gallas overran Vor-Pomerania, and the Swedes were compelled to be content with remaining on the defensive during the entire remainder of the year 1637. The Imperialists laid waste the whole country which was deemed Swedish, and retook Havelburg, Dömitz, and Wolgast, in which latter town they destroyed the magnificent castle that had belonged to the Pomeranian Dukes: the more ancient one in Schwedt had been burned by the Swedes themselves at an earlier period of the war. All the Swedish conquests in Central Germany appeared to be lost to them before the close of the year.

Distress of the Imperialists: revived hopes of the Swedes.

Nevertheless Baner did not abandon hope. He was still able to hold the invaders in check, and had reasonable expectation of receiving reinforcements from his government from the side of the sea. The Swedish army nevertheless was almost destitute of clothing, and

nearly famished from scarcity of provisions. Luckily the island of Rugen, which was especially rich in corn and cattle for its extent, was beyond the reach of Gallas, so that the most urgent wants in respect of provisions could be satisfied. The Imperialists, indeed, were not much better off in their commissariat than their opponents, and were forced to abandon many of their conquests through the necessity of obtaining supplies from less exhausted districts; and, to add to their calamity, a disease raged among their cattle which eventually drove the Imperialists to move away to the south, but not until many of the soldiers had been induced to desert by troops to Baner's standard. The Chancellor, however, was always on the alert, and with his eyes upon all the interests of his country never forgot the Swedish army. At length reinforcements of men and money arrived at Rugen out of Livonia, so that when the army was mustered on the plains near Stettin in June, 1638, it was found to consist of eleven brigades of infantry and thirty-two regiments of cavalry, 30,000 men, by the care and exertions of Baner and Torstenson, well organized, tolerably well disciplined, and well provisioned for a march.

Pirna captured by Baner.

Baner immediately awoke to fresh action, while Gallas, anticipating no aggressive operations, remained careless and unconcerned in his camp near Malchin. The advance under Torstenson and Stalhanske fell therefore unexpectedly upon the very head-quarters of the Imperialist General, and surprised several regiments, whom they made for the most part prisoners, with ten standards. Gallas accordingly quitted the camp and fell back to Havelburg, whither the Swedes incontinently followed them, and, driving their foes before them, crossed the Elbe without opposition, and advanced by way of Halberstadt even to Erfurt, which a Swedish garrison still occupied. Baner had contrived to keep up a communication with this detachment that he had left behind, and to keep alive their hopes during the

long interval of distress and misery which they as well as himself had suffered during the winter of 1637-38. He now carried them with him to Pirna, which place he captured with a view of crossing the Erzegebirge, and penetrating again into Bohemia. He had been the more readily disposed to do this, in consequence of a new treaty that had been entered into between France and Sweden, which gave the Emperor sufficient occupation in watching the trans-Rhenan possessions, where Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar colleagued with Turenne, were now carrying every thing before them.

Baner defeats the Saxons at Chemnitz.

The Saxon army under Marzin was, however, yet in the field, and Baner found it necessary to deal with them before he entered Bohemia: he accordingly marched against them to Chemnitz, where, on the 4th April, 1639, he gained a complete victory over them, and dispersed them effectually. The Swedish army had now nothing between them and their favourite policy of harrying the hereditary dominions; with which object they crossed the mountains, but they were speedily followed by the Imperialists, under Raymond de Montecucculi. Both armies met on 19th May, at Brandeis on the Elbe, ten miles north-east of Prague, where they had a severe engagement, in which, after a complete defeat, Montecucculi and Hofkirchen were both taken prisoners. Nothing now prevented Baner from overrunning the kingdom, and he encamped his army upon the celebrated White Mountain.

The ordinary devastation by a victorious army again burst over this devoted land. The Swedish discipline became relaxed, as usual, and the most unbridled licence could scarcely be restrained by the severest punishments[1]. Baner wintered here; but, disappointed at not finding any Hussite party still in Bohemia, he was urged to move out of it in the spring of 1640

[1] Baner himself wrote "that it would be no wonder if by the just judgment of God the earth should gape and swallow up such malefactors."

to join Marshal Guebriant in the north of Germany. Here, not far from Wetzlar, he parted from his friend and brother in arms, Torstenson, whom he was never fated to see again. That most distinguished officer had for a long time solicited a retreat on account of the infirmities of his health, and from this place he went home to Sweden.

The Swedes and Imperialists face one another for months at Saalfield.

The footsteps of the Swedes, as they marched across Thuringia, were as usual marked by rapine and waste, and the peasantry fled before their face by thousands, to hide and shelter themselves in the Harz forest. Luckily, Baner here found reinforcements awaiting him. The constant friend of the Swedish cause, the Dowager Duchess of Hesse, sent him 20,000 men; and Duke George of Luneburg sent his General Klitzing, whom he had taken into his service, with all the troops he could collect from his possessions. A great Imperial army under the command of the Archduke Leopold, brother to the new Emperor, colleagued with Piccolomini, was ready to meet the Swedish Generalissimo in the field, and had taken post at Saalfield; but Baner found their camp so advantageously situated and fortified, that he durst not venture to attack it, but sat down before it without offering any insult against it for six weeks: the whole country in the vicinity having been in that time laid completely desert by the long presence of two such large armies, both of them eventually began to suffer terribly from famine.

Death of Baner's wife: he marries again.

The females of this age appear to have vied with the men in the acts of fortitude recorded of these times. Indeed, it is a common remark, that women when roused to exertion almost always exceed the endurance of men in the patience with which they can confront calamity. The wife of Baner, who was a Countess of Lowenstein, and who had been brought up in the refinements of the age, had followed her husband to the war, and, in the Swedish expedition into Saxony, had been brought to bed of a male child in her coach.

Both she and her husband, however, now caught the epidemic that raged in the camp, and she died of it. Baner appeared altogether inconsolable at her loss, and, without regarding any principles of strategy, or even the danger of lifting the camp in presence of an active and enterprising antagonist, he carried her remains, escorted by the whole army, to Erfurt, where he caused her to be buried with great pomp; but, to the shame of man's constancy and sincerity in affliction, he chanced to meet upon his return from the funeral the lovely Margravine of Domlach on the road, a beautiful girl of sixteen, when he was so deeply smitten with her charms that he made love to her, and was married to her at Waldeck within a very few days of the occurrence. The Priest, however, had scarcely time to pronounce the nuptial blessing, when a messenger arrived from Marshal Guebriant to announce to the bridegroom the advance of Piccolomini, when the gallant general, without even snatching a kiss from his young wife, mounted his horse, and galloped away to the Swedish camp.

Baner, outnumbered by the Imperialists, retreats to Halberstadt.

Piccolomini had indeed effected a junction with the Bavarians under Mercy, who had been called back out of Suabia, and the Pfalz, and breaking up from Erfurt, the two armies met at Neustadt, in the duchy of Coburg. Neither party, however, appeared disposed at first to come to any engagement. The respective leaders moved from place to place to spare their armies from famine and pestilence, but no great strategy was evinced by either general in these mere changes of quarters. Baner indeed attempted an attack upon the Bavarians, whom he caught at one moment when they were separated from the Imperialists, but the attempt was frustrated by the skill of the Bavarian General, Von Merey. The severity of winter at length obliged both armies to take to winter-quarters. Piccolomini selected the fertile banks of the Weser for the Imperialist camp, but being outflanked by Baner he was

obliged to give way to the Swedes, and to carry his forces into Franconia, and there canton them on the banks of the Maine. The Swedish army took up their winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of Hilderheim.

During the winter, however, one of those "bold strokes," which were Baner's *forte*, was attempted in order to get possession of the person of the Emperor, who had convoked a Diet at Ratisbon. The Roman Catholic influence had brought this meeting about, ostensibly for the repose of the Empire, and to determine the question of peace and war. They felt, doubtless, that in the withdrawal of several of the Protestant Princes, and the great number of their sovereign ecclesiastics, they might have a complete command over the deliberations of the assembly. The Protestants on the other hand considered, and not without reason, that this princely assembly was a mere expedient to give the colour of legality to new oppressions to be exercised against themselves, and that it was a combination of Austria and its creatures against their party. It seemed to the Unionists, therefore, that it might be a laudable effort to interrupt its deliberations by an endeavour forcibly to dissolve the Diet itself. The enterprise was suggested to Baner, who, feeling that his military reputation during the late inaction of his army stood in need of some great exploit, was ready for a daring one that might add lustre to his arms. Without, therefore, making known his design to any one, he broke up suddenly in the winter of 1640-41 from his quarters in Luneburg, and, accompanied by Marshal Guebriant, took the road with a flying detachment of troops through Thuringia and Voigtland, when, crossing the Fichtel mountains from Plauen into the Upper Palatinate, they came suddenly down upon Ratisbon before the Diet could be apprised of their approach. The consternation of the assembly was, of course, indescribable, and, in the first alarm, the deputies prepared for flight. The Emperor alone declared

that he would not quit his post; and the rest were encouraged by his example to remain in their seats, although Baner got some guns into position above the town, and sent 500 cannon-shot over the sacred head of Cæsar. During the course of their march across Germany the rivers were found frozen, and the country in many parts covered with snow. The Swedish General therefore, always ready to enlist the climate on his side, determined to block up and starve the Imperial conclave in the Imperial city "in their realm of ice;" but, unfortunately for him, an unexpected thaw came on, which broke up the ice platform upon the Danube, so that the Swedes could no longer pass it either on foot or by boats; and Baner found himself completely baffled in his design. The situation of the contending parties became in consequence just reversed by these few hours of south wind, and the biter was himself bit. Indeed, the assailants saw that they were in very great jeopardy, and they hastened to make a rapid retreat. Nevertheless, the insult offered to the Empire of bombarding the Emperor in his Diet, stung Ferdinand deeply; and, moreover, his equipage and chancery had been captured and rifled, so that in anger, but with great secrecy and despatch, he concentrated the Imperial troops in the vicinity, and, at the head of an overwhelming force, followed in pursuit of the Swedes. He came up with them at Wald-Neuburg, where, Colonel Slange gallantly maintaining the rear-guard with three regiments, they were attacked, but with true Spartan devotion defended themselves for four days, which gave time for Baner and Guebriant to retreat through the passes of the mountains, which they succeeded in doing, and in reaching Halberstadt in safety.

Baner's sickness, and death.

The concentration of the Swedish and French armies had aggravated the difficulty of obtaining supplies for the Confederates, and Guebriant was indeed fearful of the desertion of the Weimar troops, if he should march away to unite with Turenne on the Rhine; but, never-

theless, a separation had become necessary, and Baner therefore prepared to quit his French friend, and march away from Halberstadt in company with Prince George of Luneburg. The Swedish Field-Marshal was, however, somewhat of a jovial character, and accepted an invitation from Marshal Guebriánt to partake of a grand banquet at his head-quarters in the Bishop's palace, in true military comradeship. Those who knew the Swede, were well aware that he would cheerfully drown all recollection of his late privations in an unrestrained excess of the kind; but the sad consequences that followed this have unhappily given the banquet at Hilderheim a mournful celebrity in history.

Piccolomini and Marshal Glenn were still on the traces of the Swedes when their commander, after this debauch, marched his army from Halberstadt, and they came even into some collision on the banks of the Saale; but nevertheless Baner pushed forward unhesitatingly until he found himself caught, as in a trap, in a narrow pass between the rivers Pleiss and Mulda. Baner's ruin appeared again inevitable; but "there was life in the old dog yet," and he extricated himself by one of those efforts of military genius for which he is so renowned. Having expedited his baggage and artillery overnight, he himself, although obliged from indisposition to be borne in a litter, prepared to carry into effect what proved to be the last enterprise of his brilliant career. He feigned to cross the water in the morning at a mill below Prosnitz, where he made an obstinate and vigorous resistance, during which time he got the main body of his army clear off to Zwickau, and completely foiled his Imperial pursuers.

It is supposed that at the banquet of Hilderheim Baner and Prince George must have not only indulged in strong potations, but that they also perhaps had partaken of some deadly substance, for both fell sick in this first march of their short campaign. Brunswick sank first, on the 2nd of April; and now Baner,

falling desperately sick, and quite unable to keep his seat on horseback, was obliged to be carried in a litter to Halberstadt, which he only just reached by short stages, already in a state of delirium, and where he died on the 10th of May, 1641. As he expired, the enemy thundered at the very gate, but the army rallied round their General's body, and for an entire month stoutly defended it against many rough assaults, with as much resolution and firmness as if it had been the standard of their country.

Effect of Baner's death upon the army.

This Swedish Field-Marshal was indeed missed by his army almost before they buried him—none of the four Generals who aspired to become his successor possessed influence over the soldiery, or their confidence in any high degree; and, indeed, his death so depressed their spirits, that they were at first inclined to mutiny, and to abandon their colours; but they were held firm by the exertions and appeals of their regimental officers. Many, however, did secede, especially those who came out of Luneburg, and who had lost their attachment by the death of Duke George; and even the dependents of the Dowager Landgravine of Hesse were induced to seek better quarters for themselves in Westphalia. Had the Imperialists been at all aware of the disunion then existing in Baner's army, they might have utterly annihilated it; but Gallas was not one of those men of whom the French King might have trusted in his celebrated inquiry, "*Est-il heureux?*" He was always unfortunate, and on the wrong side of the post, and now, having let Baner slip out of his hands, and being unable to make any impression upon the Swedish position, he appears to have marched away no one knows whither.

His personal appearance and character.

Baner was of a robust constitution, although it had been much weakened by his excesses; a man of extraordinary qualities, evincing boldness and resolution, and indefatigable energy in all his enterprises. He ranked high in the opinion of his contemporaries for

his military abilities, which were of high order, and sustained with varying success, but with great renown, the lustre of the Swedish arms in Germany; and by a series of successful operations and victories he proved himself worthy of the glorious title he obtained, of "The Second Gustavus." He was, however, it must be admitted, altogether unlike that most perfect model of a Christian Warrior. The qualities of the hero were united in Baner with all the failings and vices which a military life creates, or, at all events, fosters. As imperious in private intercourse as he was at the head of an army, he was rude and overbearing on all occasions, and at one and the same time disgusted the aristocracy by his haughtiness and the peasantry by his reckless devastations and spoliations. He was continually in hot water, and on bad terms at the same moment with the Chancellor Oxenstierna and Wrangel, while he often quarrelled with Guebriant. He was an utter voluptuary, consoling himself for the toils of war in illegitimate pleasures of every kind, in which he indulged to excess, and which, indeed, brought him to an early grave. It may be said likewise, that the association with him disabled the only friend he never disagreed with, the equally famous General Torstenson. Nevertheless, libertine as Baner was, he could hurry away from his most coveted luxuries, could leave his bride at the church door, and the most gorgeous banquet to share the hardest food of his soldiers, and to devote himself to his duty in any moment of necessity. The soldiers therefore adored him because he liked to live amongst them, and cheerfully shared their toils and privations. He was by nature a humane man, and really desirous of avoiding any unnecessary waste of life, yet 80,000 Swedes are said to have fallen under his standard. This was for the most part perpetrated in the high tide of victory, for 600 stand of colours were the trophies of his battles.

His military genius.

A distinguishing characteristic of Baner was his promptitude of resolve in action. He would "up with

his fist and give a blow" before "a body" was prepared for or expected it. There was not much science in it, but what was his peculiarity, was the fertility of expedients with which he devised, and the secrecy and boldness with which he executed his plans. Take the case when the Saxons rose around him after the Treaty of Prague, and when he was almost in their toils; and again when he fearlessly marched through their army into Pomerania, dared their hostility, and resolutely opposed them. In earlier days, when he was in Mecklenburg, manœuvring against the Elector of Bavaria, an ordinary mind would have tried every little expedient of war to await the crisis that impended. But Baner, with a greater effort of genius and consummate fearlessness, carried away his army into Saxony, and began to lay it waste in order to move the Bavarian Sovereign to march back to its relief. So also upon two memorable occasions, when nearly surrounded by Gallas, he evinced the greatest address, and so perfectly threw dust in the eyes of his adversary, that he twice saved his army out of those two most imminent quandaries. Baner was, indeed, always greater in adversity than in prosperity; for he was cautious in the midst of success, and only reckless in the full career of danger. He proved by his actions that he was never so formidable as when he was on the very brink of destruction.

As a politician, his reconcilement of the Protestants to the interests of his country after the peace of Prague is looked upon as an act of prudence and firmness worthy of Oxenstierna himself. His letters to Marshal Guebriant also show him to be great in many of his conceptions, and of extraordinary judgment in his advice and recommendation. It was an established maxim of Baner, that old officers should never be employed in the field, but he had no objection to give them the command of fortresses [2].

[2] Luodblad's Life of Baner; Schiller, Menzel, Geijer, De Peyster, Kriegs-Kunst Lexikon.

MATTHIAS VON GALLAS,

AN IMPERIALIST GENERAL.

Born 1589. Died 1647.

His education, and earliest military service.

VERY little is known of the family of Gallas except that he was born in 1589, in the Bishopric of Trent, and that his real patronymic was Galasso. He was early attached as page to the Seigneur de Bauffremont, who procured for him the commission of ensign in 1616, when he served in the war made by Spain against Savoy. He must have early obtained some military reputation, for we next hear of him in command of Riva, a strong place in the mountains bordering on the Lago di Garda. It is said that he belonged to an ancient and illustrious family of the Tyrol, and it may have been from this cause that he now removed altogether from Savoy, after having quarrelled with an Austrian officer, and resolved to seek his own fortunes. We subsequently find him, in 1624, in Germany, "seeking prey where the eagles

were gathered together." Here also at this juncture existed those many stepping-stones for such men to bestir themselves and get employment. He is reported to have led an infantry regiment with considerable distinction against the forces under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, near Stein, on the Aa, and contributed to the success which the Imperialists obtained over the Danes near Bremen, in 1625. Afterwards, the services which he rendered the Catholic League in Bohemia recommended him to the Emperor, and to General Tilly, by whose favour he obtained rapid promotion. He was, in 1629, sent into Italy as Chief of the Staff under General Catalto, and upon the retirement of that Imperial General from ill-health, he succeeded to the command of the army, and continued the siege of Mantua, which had been begun, and which, when taken, was sacked, affording an immense booty to himself and the other captors. Several other brilliant advantages also accrued to him from this campaign; so that when Aldringer was called back to Germany, Gallas was ordered to finish the Italian campaign; and having completely effected the Emperor's object by the treaty of Cherasco, he obtained for these services the title of Count, in 1630.

Capture of Prague.

After this episode of separate command, Von Gallas returned to Germany, and resumed his post in Tilly's army, whom he assisted at the battle of Breitenfeld, or Leipzig, in 1631. After this defeat he was ordered into Bohemia, where he took post in the old encampment of Pilsen, where he was joined by recruits and fugitives, and with this force showed every intention of defending himself; but nevertheless he was kept subordinate to Wallenstein, whom the Emperor had just succeeded in recalling out of his retreat, and Gallas was ordered to act under his commands. The city of Prague was at this time in the possession of the Saxon army under Arnheim, and there was always some private understanding existing between Wallenstein and Arn-

heim; so that through Gallas negotiations were entered upon by the former to court the alliance of the Elector of Saxony. However, suddenly assembling his troops in the year 1632, the Duke of Friedland, having Gallas commanding under him, appeared before Prague ere the Saxons were aware of it; and, after a short resistance, and by the treachery of some Capuchin friar, the gates were opened to one of the Imperial regiments, and the garrison of the citadel, abandoned by their army, soon laid down their arms. Gustavus having carried a great part of his army back into Bavaria, Gallas was sent with 2000 men and four guns to invest Lauf. This was a town of more consequence than strength, as it defended the passage of the Pegnitz and the passes of the mountains that divide Franconia from the Upper Palatinate. Oxenstierna, who happened to be at Nurenburg, sensible of its importance, hastily recalled the King by express, who immediately retraced his steps; but before he could arrive, Gallas had carried his point, and Lauf was captured on the 13th September. Letters are extant which Wallenstein addressed to his Generals Pappenheim and Gallas when meditating the invasion of Saxony; and it has been deduced from this correspondence, that as the Croats were forbidden to plunder, the charge as recorded by Schiller of the devastation of Saxony by Wallenstein at this juncture is not to be deemed correct. Gallas was, however, already distinguished as a faithful instrument of his inhuman orders, if they were indeed issued, and was, in fact, despatched with 10,000 men into Saxony, which he laid waste with an unsparing hand. "Ruined churches, villages in ashes, harvests wilfully destroyed, families plundered, and murdered peasants, marked the progress of this barbarian raid, under whose scourge the whole of Thuringia, Voigtland, and Misnia lay defenceless." But this was but the prelude to yet greater sufferings; for Wallenstein, at the head of his army, followed quickly after

Gallas, and the Imperialists swarmed all over the Electorate. He had already arrived on the banks of the Mulda, having compelled Leipzig to surrender on the 23rd October, and was now threatening Dresden, when the Saxon army came back as far as Torgau to defend the capital. Gallas had, however, reached Chemnitz as the high road to Dresden, and had captured it on the 1st October; but he was now ordered to stand upon the defensive, and unite with the division of Holk, in Misnia, to await further orders.

The Imperialists march into Silesia.

Gallas is known to have been with his General at the battle of Lutzén, but is not mentioned in any account of it as having taken any active part in the fight, nor does he figure among those who shared in the Duke of Friedland's munificent gifts of gold chains or purses after the battle, nor was he of those who suffered under his judgments at Prague for cowardice at the battle, on the 4th February, 1633. He probably assisted the Imperial Commander in recruiting and reorganizing the army during the winter at the Bohemian capital; and it is very probable, from his character, that he served Wallenstein in taking down the church bells for the purpose of having them cast into cannon to supply the artillery, which had been lost at the battle of Lutzen. The Imperial army, again recruited to 40,000 men, well equipped in every respect, quitted Prague on the 5th May, and opened the campaign of 1633 by marching into Silesia. Gallas commanded the advance, and immediately laid that hereditary province as effectually waste as though it had been an enemy's country.

Gallas secretly employed by the Emperor in depriving Wallenstein of his command.

The aptitude of Gallas for the cruel service of devastation had, without any doubt, made him a favourite with the soldiers, who were enriched by his excesses, and accordingly, though reputed to be a friend of Wallenstein, Ferdinand secretly invited him to his councils, when he had come to the determination of dismissing that impracticable General from the com-

mand of his armies. The Emperor committed to the hands of Gallas the decree for the deposition of his superior from command, and for assuming it himself, under the belief that, as a favourite with the soldiery, he might have sufficient influence with the troops to keep them submissive. When the Duke of Friedland, in January, 1634, invited his absent generals from their various detached commands to repair to him, in order either to obtain their acquiescence in his projects, or else to assure himself of their persons, Gallas, already informed of his intentions, accepted the invitation, in order to see for himself the state of affairs, and to send the Emperor the most reliable information of what was passing in Wallenstein's circle. Upon his arrival at the camp at Pilsen he found that neither Aldringer nor Coloredo had accepted the Generalissimo's invitation, and that he was therefore under the eye and in the power of the most resolute man in the world, with, moreover, the Imperial patent in his pocket for superseding him. Gallas perceived the total impossibility of executing his Sovereign's orders under such circumstances; and the more so, as Piccolomini, whom he was instructed to consider as also in the secret, had actually signed a paper pledging himself to adhere to the Duke of Friedland to the last drop of his blood, and had openly acted as a devoted friend of the Generalissimo. Feigning therefore excessive zeal for the person of Wallenstein, Gallas offered his services to repair to Frauenberg, in order to prevail on Aldringer to come to Pilsen. The Duke of Friedland not only accepted the offer, but lent him his own carriage for the journey. Rejoicing in the success of this artifice, as soon as he was out of his power, he, on the 13th February, issued an order in Italian, addressed to his countrymen, Piccolomini, De Souches, Coloredo, and others, directing them to receive no orders except from himself, but to keep the "bulletins" secret for three days; in the mean time he despatched Al-

dringer to Vienna to report proceedings, and to awaken His Imperial Majesty to the danger of the position of His Majesty's agents now acting against Wallenstein. Gallas then removed to Prague, where he openly announced the Imperial patent conferred on himself, and called on the different armies to regard him as Commander-in-Chief, while, at the same time, he denounced Wallenstein as a rebel, and absolved the soldiers from all obedience to him. Piccolomini forthwith placed himself at the head of one army, and De Souches at the head of another, which awoke the unfortunate Generalissimo as from a dream, who now prepared in all haste to advance upon Prague, and openly to declare against the Emperor. Accordingly he at once despatched Tertzky thither to precede him at the head of the cavalry.

Gallas prepares to lay siege to Ratisbon.

After the death of Wallenstein, Gallas took his measures so well, that he kept the army true to their allegiance to the Emperor; but he was so far mistrusted as not to be left to govern alone, but was colleagued in the command of the army with the Emperor's son, Ferdinand, King of Hungary. The Prince indeed brought to this post nothing but his name and dignity; and Gallas, performing all the functions of Commander-in-Chief, put the Imperial army in motion, in order at once to give it action, and to undertake the enterprise in which his predecessor had failed—the siege of Ratisbon. Deeply implicated in the abominable intrigue by which Wallenstein had been brutally sacrificed, he cannot be considered wholly innocent of a guilty knowledge of his death; but he must be acquitted from the charge of having had any share whatever in the bloody deed. Nevertheless he reaped an ample share of the murdered man's effects: he obtained the *gros lot* of the Duchy of Friedland, that principal portion of the reward which had so pre-eminently been enjoyed by the great man whom he had betrayed. It has, however, been observed by the admirers of Wallenstein, that all

those who shared in the disgraceful complications of his fall were never afterwards fortunate. Aldringer met with a violent death; and Gallas and Piccolomini lived to discover that victory had deserted their dishonoured crests, and to see that disgrace and discomfiture settled henceforward on their blighted standards.

Battle of Nordlingen.

As soon as Gallas opened fire upon Ratisbon, Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar penetrated into Bavaria, with a view to deter him from any success; but, owing to the resolution and activity of the new Commander-in-Chief, the siege was pressed with so much vigour, that after a most obstinate resistance the Imperial city was obliged to open its gates on the 26th July. About the same time Gallas effected a junction with a Spanish army under the Cardinal Infanta, brother of King Philip IV., and proceeded to the siege of Donauwerth, which likewise capitulated to his arms. The Imperial General was now at the head of 46,000 men, and Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, with only 26,000, presumed to dispute his attempt to lay siege to Nordlingen, and on the 6th September he paid for his presumption by a defeat that almost ruined the Swedish cause in Germany altogether. The battle occurred on the 26th August. Bernhard, with reckless indiscretion, crossed the Eger at the head of his cavalry, and encountered the Imperial horse in a sharp engagement near Memmingen. Rendered confident by this success, Bernhard carried his whole army across the Eger on the 5th September, and took up a position for the night across the great road leading from the fortress of Nordlingen to Ulm, on the Danube, and behind a small stream called the Goldbach. Gallas, as soon as he discovered his adversary's intentions, occupied the Haselberg, and threw up some hasty breastworks, behind which he placed his guns, and he prudently garrisoned these lines with the Spaniards, of whose steadiness he was not assured. His attacking force consisted of some 30,000 men, of which 13,000 were horse; all the rest of the army occupied the

trenches and batteries before the town. The Swedes advanced at early morning in two columns, the left commanded by Duke Bernhard, and the right by Gustavus Horn. The latter flanked his advance by a body of horse, which was kept out of sight behind some rising ground. As soon, however, as the Swedish infantry neared the earthworks they lost their formation, under the fire of the Spanish defenders, and at the same moment the Imperial cavalry came down upon them with great impetuosity. In the midst of the struggle an explosion of gunpowder occurred, which added to their confusion, and blew 1000 of them into the air. A perfect panic now seized the Swedes, who fled across the plain *en abeille*, nor could all the efforts of the Generals stop or re-form them. Bernhard's column was too distant to lend them aid, and indeed Weimar was himself so much harried and persecuted by his foes that he had no leisure for the task. The contest lasted nearly six hours before Duke Bernhard ordered a retreat, when eighty guns and 370 standards were left in the possession of the Imperialists, with many prisoners, including Gustavus Horn, who commanded the attack, and three other generals. More than 12,000 remained dead on the field, which was one of the most obstinate and bloody battles of the war. It obtained for Gallas the dignity of Duke of Luzern. The Spanish Generals, who were proud of their share of this memorable day, and who had become unused to victory, exclaimed, "The best officer in the world might learn somewhat of Gallas." The results of the battle of Nordlingen were very damaging to the cause of Sweden, for it replaced the Imperialists in the possession of Suabia, Franconia, and the entire valley of the Danube, as far even as the right bank of the Rhine.

Gallas advances into France, but is forced to retreat.

Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, burning under the discredit of his defeat, threw himself at the feet of Cardinal Richelieu, to obtain from the hands of France the countenance he knew he had lost from the Swedes and

their Chancellor; so that in the following year, 1635, he reappeared in arms at the head of such soldiers of his late army as he could reassemble, but colleagued with a French army under Cardinal Lavalette. The two leaders marched against Von Gallas, who after his victory had advanced across the Rhine, and taken from the Swedes the towns of Mayence and Frankenthal. The appearance of the French in the contest, however, checked the Imperial General, and he repaired hastily back to Alsace, where he took up his winter-quarters on both sides of the Rhine. But in the spring of 1636 Von Gallas passed the Rhine at Breysach, and boldly prepared to carry the war into the interior of France. He actually entered Burgundy, and relieved Dole, which had been invested, and then manœuvred as though he would lay siege to Dijon, but turning aside he invested the fortress called St. Jean de Losne, which has also obtained the name of La Belle Defence, from the famous siege which its inhabitants had sustained in 1273. Von Gallas now united his forces with those of the Duke of Lorraine and the King of Spain, so that the combined army amounted to 80,000 men; and thus it was that the courageous defence of the little fortress of St. Jean de Losne, badly fortified, and weakly garrisoned, alone saved Paris, where the greatest consternation prevailed lest it should receive a visit. The Confederates, however, passing on, penetrated even into Picardy, and sat down before the fortress of Condé. The example of the little town of St. Jean de Losne, however, had pervaded the whole of France, and the Imperial army, utterly exhausted by the fatigues of the sieges and marches, was so diminished that Von Gallas, after having lost the flower of his army, was forced to a precipitate retreat, and even to abandon his artillery and a great portion of his baggage. Thus an insignificant fortress checked completely an enterprise that afforded every chance of success, and obliged the Imperialists to abandon the invasion of France a second

time; for John de Werth, who had also penetrated at this time into Champagne, had in like manner been forced to retreat out of it. The death of the Emperor Ferdinand II. at this juncture brought his son (the comrade of Von Gallas in the victory of Nordlingen) to the Imperial throne; and it would appear to have been one of the earliest acts of his authority to order Von Werth to remain to oppose Bernhard on the Rhine, and to recall Von Gallas out of France to make head against the Swedish General Baner, who was carrying every thing before him in the north of Germany.

Baner adroitly extricates himself from the hands of Gallas.

Accordingly, in the spring of 1637, Von Gallas forced Baner to raise the siege of Leipzig, and to retire with all his army to Torgau, about which fortress the Swedish General threw up strong outworks. It is difficult to understand how, with all the skill of the military art, 14,000 Swedes were able to maintain their ground against 60,000 Imperialists; nevertheless, from February to June, Von Gallas was unable to force Baner from his stronghold; nor would the Swedes have retired at the last had it not become impossible to procure food any longer. "Surrounded by the enemy, hemmed in by rivers, and suffering from famine, they had no course open to them but to attempt a highly dangerous retreat into Pomerania, of which the boldness and successful issue border upon romance. They broke up from their camp at Torgau on the 19th June, and, though hotly pursued by the Imperialists, their whole army crossed the Oder at a ford near Furstenberg on the 23rd in safety." But Von Gallas, adopting a shorter route by Kustrin, anticipated Baner's arrival at Landsberg, whither he despatched a detachment under General Marzin, which he quickly followed up with the main body in support; and, thus standing between Baner and his base in Pomerania, the Imperial leader seemed to have got the Swedish army in a net, out of which there was no escape. Their escape seemed to be further rendered hopeless by the arrival of another Imperial

army upon the scene, under Buckheim and Isolani. Baner, however, perceived the snare into which he had fallen; but, in his extremity, he availed himself of the resources of his superior military genius, and effectually deceived and foiled Von Gallas.

The chagrin of Gallas at his failure to entrap Baner.

Measures were taken to spread a report that the Swedes intended to take refuge in Poland; and the General with consummate art publicly enjoined his officers to respect the armistice between the two kingdoms, and to exercise a strict neutrality towards the Poles, and to pay ready money for all the provisions and necessaries they might require from the inhabitants. Bridges were ostentatiously thrown over the rivers in various places, and a passport was obtained from the authorities of the kingdom for a safeguard to Baner's wife and his baggage. Von Gallas was well aware of the temerity of his opponent, and did not think an attempt at all improbable; nevertheless, he was determined to capture him, dead or alive, if it were possible. The Imperialist army was keen to obtain this triumph; and the orders to pursue by forced marches were so cheerfully obeyed, that both commanders and subordinates forgot all prudence in the excitement of the chase. The Imperialists every where broke up their camp, and hurried towards the Polish frontier *bride abattue* to block up the route. The Oder was thus stripped of its defenders for the moment, and freed from all presence of the enemy. With great address Baner rapidly availed himself of this opening. He doubled back upon his pursuers, with a quick resolve, and by a rapid night march had actually attained to Stettin before the Imperialists discovered that he had escaped out of their toils. The Vienna wits ridiculed Gallas by a caricature, in which the Imperialist General was tying up his opponents in a sack, while they were seen to be all swarming out of it through a hole at the bottom.

The Em-

Von Gallas was naturally indignant at his failure,

prives Gallas of his command.

but at once followed after the Swedes, and entered the Duchy at Ribses, overran it without opposition, took Usedom and Wolgast by storm, obliged Demmin to capitulate, and, in fact, obtained possession of the whole of Vor-Pomerania. Baner rested with his entire army in the camp where Gustavus had a very few years before ensconced his army on his first arrival in Germany, under the walls of Stettin. The whole country between the Elbe and Oder was left in the power of the Imperialists; but it had been so desolated by the occupation and harryings of the different armies, that no force could now be for any time supported in it. But the Swedes in their fortified camp obtained supplies readily from the seaward, and were in that and other respects better off than their antagonists, for disease had broken out in the Imperialist camp, and many soldiers left their standard and repaired to the Swedish camp to implore the Protestants to give them food, "in the name of God and religion." Gallas himself, like Gallio, 'cared for none of these things,' but content in his own voluptuousness he let them go. At length, about the beginning of June, Baner made a raid upon Gallas's camp, and surprised several regiments; which sudden and unexpected inroad induced the Imperialist General to lift it, and fall back upon Havelburg. Gallas led the relics of his army, weakened by its excesses and desertions, first across the Elbe, and ultimately into Silesia and Bohemia. The Swedish army followed him immediately, crossing the Elbe, and even penetrating with irresistible impetuosity into Bohemia, by way of Pirna. Baner actually encamped his army upon the White Mountain, which Von Gallas either could not, or did not, prevent. But the Emperor, who hitherto had trusted so implicitly in the General (who on his part had ever evinced the most devoted fidelity to him and his interests), seeing his hereditary estates again menaced and invaded, removed Von Gallas from the

command of his armies, and from 1638 until 1643 he remained altogether unemployed.

In this interval Torstenson had, by the death of Baner, succeeded to the command of the Swedish armies, and in the year 1642 had invaded Silesia, and penetrated into Moravia, from whence the Archduke Leopold and Piccolomini had driven him out again with some difficulty. But subsequently the Swedish General had engaged and defeated these combined Imperial Generals at Breitenfeld, and had captured Leipzig from them in their despite. Hatzfeld had been defeated at Kempen; Von Weerth had been overcome and taken prisoner by Duke Bernhard; and the French armies, under Guebriant, Turenne, and Condé, had also commenced their career of victory. These concurrent events induced the Emperor to summon Von Gallas again out of his retirement, and to place him once more at the head of the Imperial armies. After Breitenfeld the Imperialists fled into Bohemia, whither Gallas now repaired to reorganize the army; Torstenson having been foiled before Freiberg, in Saxony, had again penetrated into Moravia, to relieve Olmutz, which he effectually did in July, 1643; and, giving Gallas the go-by, had actually attained, with his light cavalry, the gates of Vienna; but, on his arrival near Brünn, he was overtaken at Eulenberg on the 23rd September, by a Swedish Privy Councillor, who ordered him to carry his army in all haste to Holstein, as war had been declared between Sweden and Denmark. Gallas was at first deceived by the proposal for an armistice, but as soon as the truth was discovered Gallas received orders to collect every available man in Bohemia, and to move with all expedition into Holstein, imitating his opponents, the Swedes, in disregarding the inclemency of the seasons, and in the rapidity and length of their marches.

Gallas resumes the command of the Imperial forces.

The Imperial Court, contrary to all expectation, determined without regard to the fortresses on the

Escape of the Swed-

ish fleet: defeat and death of Gallas.

way that were held by the Swedes, to send Gallas in pursuit of Torstenson. The plan of operations which he now adopted, was to occupy with his army, which was reinforced on his march through Misnia by the divisions of Coloredo and De Bruay, the defiles and passages between Schleswig on the Sley and Stapelholm, where he was to be joined by the Danish army. Then, taking advantage of the natural obstacles of this line of defence, he trusted that he should render egress impossible to the Swedish army under Torstenson, which had advanced into Jutland. The approach of Von Gallas was fraught with imminent hazard to the Swedish army, but it was divested of some portion of it by its want of promptitude. Gallas, strengthened with a Danish force, again adopted his old tactics of sitting down in fortified camps and avoiding battles. He arrived at Kiel five days too late to effect the destruction of the Swedish fleet which had been anchored in that bay; and Wrangel, who was in command of it, had only just time to escape. Had Von Gallas availed himself of the natural advantages of the marshy lands about the Eider and the Eekinfjorde, he might have formed a barrier *à la Hollandaise* that would have rendered it impossible for any force shut up in Schleswig and Jutland to escape out of it; but Von Gallas neglected all those resources of art of which it would have been the peculiar characteristic of his opponent, Torstenson, to have availed himself largely. The Swedish Generalissimo did not idly await the attack of his antagonist. He seized the town of Rendsburg, situated on the Eider, and fell upon the Danes, who had thrown up intrenchments, which the Swedes carried by storm. The morasses were reconnoitred and rendered passable by being partially filled up; new ways were constructed on every side; and an undefended defile having been discovered which turned the Imperial positions, Torstenson marched by way of it, in full bravado, with drums beating and colours flying,

before the very eyes of Von Gallas, offering him the very acme of indignity, which the Field-Marshal did not dare to resent; nor did Von Gallas do any thing to impede him until Torstenson was actually out of Holstein and near Ratzenburg, in the Duchy of Lauenberg, where there stood a castle almost surrounded by a lake. Here he defied Von Gallas, who still followed him in his march without attempting any thing against him. Crossing the Elbe into the Duchy of Lunenburg, Torstenson drove the Imperialists before him as far as Bernburg, within which he absolutely shut up his opponent with his whole army; then crossing the Saale, he cut him off from all his communications with Saxony and Bohemia. The Imperialist cavalry attempted to escape into Silesia, but were overtaken and routed; and Gallas was only able to reach Magdeburg, from which city he was eventually enabled, in the course of the winter of 1645, to get away into Bohemia with about 2000 followers. This disastrous expedition obtained for Von Gallas the sad reputation of being a consummate master in losing armies, and in his derision a medal was struck at Hamburg, bearing on its obverse this inscription: "A succinct narrative of the distinguished achievements of Von Gallas in Holstein." The obverse bore his effigy, and the reverse was left perfectly smooth and without any legend.

This terrible catastrophe to Von Gallas's fame disappointed the last hopes of Ferdinand III.; and the Field-Marshal, broken down by his despondencies, and by the infirmities occasioned by the fatigues and mortifications that he had undergone throughout his numerous campaigns, died at Vienna, in April, 1647; but his body was transported to Trent, and interred in the Church of the Jesuits in that city.

Von Gallas was an utter voluptuary in private life—and a drunkard to excess, which occasioned a great deal of the reverses that attended his career of com-

mand. His military talents would have given him very different results, if it had not been for his drunken revels, which incapacitated him for his duties of energetic vigilance, and prevented him from maintaining that exactness of discipline without which an army is a mere mob.

His unsuccessful military career.

However, the many brilliant exploits of the military career of Von Gallas render it impossible to exclude him from a distinguished place among the able generals of this period; but the singular failures which it was his destiny to expiate, when opposed to the Swedish Generals Baner and Torstenson, must either be put to the large credit account of the Swedish Generals, or to the very black debit of the loser's page. French historians speak of Gallas as "le premier général du monde pour perdre une armée;" and he survives in German story as, *par excellence*, der Heerverderber, or "the destroyer of armies." He was very much beloved by his soldiers, who do not often give their affections to demerit, nor do they in general like an unfortunate leader. His military character may perhaps most justly be summed up as "malheureux, mais non mal," unfortunate, but yet a considerable General[1].

[1] Kriegs-Kunst Lexikon; Schiller; Menzel; Biographie Universelle; Geijer.

LEONARD TORSTENSON,

A SWEDISH GENERAL.

Born 1603. Died 1651.

THE family of this renowned Swedish commander is said to have been from West Gothland, where they continued the custom of Sweden of naming sons from their father's Christian name longer than it had been practised elsewhere. Thus the father of our subject was called Torsten Lennartson, and his son became Lennart, or Leonard Torstenson. He was born in the Castle of Torstena, which stands at the foot of the Hunneburg mountains, not far from Wennersborg, where a considerable estate is situated that came to his ancestors through the family of Slatte. His grandmother, of the family of Ekeblad, adopted our hero when a child at three months old, and brought him up until her death in his seventh year. Considerable doubt has arisen as to the date of Torstenson's

His birth and parentage.

birth in consequence, for there is a discrepancy of just eight years, some placing it in 1595, and some in 1603 [1].

His education: is early patronized by Gustavus Adolphus.

Torstenson's father continued in exile the entire period of his son's adolescence, which imposed the duty of causing him to be properly educated on his paternal uncle. The lad is said to have evinced a rare power of acquiring knowledge, and to have shown from his very youth an elevated esteem for morality and order, which he combined through life with great bravery. Such qualities were always acceptable to Gustavus Adolphus, so that in 1618 he was appointed by the King one of his pages, or as they were then styled, "Squires of the Chamber." In this quality he accompanied the King in his campaigns as well as attended His Majesty in the palace.

His first commission.

A remarkable anecdote is related by Voltaire of the circumstance that obtained for Leonard Torstenson his first commission. He had been in close personal attendance on the King of Sweden during the campaign in Livonia in 1624, and it happened at a moment of importance that His Majesty had no staff officer near him. Accordingly he entrusted an order for an important movement to the hands of his squire, who, seeing a change in the enemy's plan of attack as he rode along, took upon himself the bold responsibility of making a corresponding change in the directions that his Sovereign had directed him to give. "Sire," said the youth, on his return to his royal master's side, "forgive me for what I have done; but when I saw the enemy was changing his line, I made a corresponding change in Your Majesty's orders." Gustavus made no answer at the time; but in the evening, when the page was about to serve the table, as was his wont, he was commanded to sit down at the King's side, when the

[1] His biographer, the American General, De Peyster, placed his birth on 17th August, 1603.

good-humoured monarch, threatening him with the hand, said, "Young man, what you did this morning might have cost you your life; but I see in you that you have the qualities of a good general, and I make you an ensign in a company of my guards." He was forthwith, in the presence of the guests, girded (as was the old Swedish custom) with a sword, to signify that he had attained to man's estate, and was forthwith able to defend himself.

His rapid promotion.

Torstenson served on board ship in 1623, in some naval operations before Dantzig. He was afterwards sent by the King to travel into Holland and Germany. In 1626 he accompanied the King when he invaded Prussia, at which time he obtained the rank of captain; and in 1628 he so distinguished himself at the head of a regiment at the town of Marienberg, that he was nominated to the rank of colonel. It is reasonable to suppose that such rapid promotion was owing to the merit of Torstenson's service being appreciated under the very eye of the King; for, after the armistice of Stumsdorf, in 1629, had put an end to the active duties of war, he appears to have been selected by Gustavus Adolphus for the very distinguished and responsible post of Great Master of the Swedish Artillery.

Introduces improvements into the Swedish artillery.

It is probable that at this period, when "The Lion of the North" was preparing for the great part he was about to enact in Germany against such distinguished commanders as Tilly and Wallenstein, he had with his usual energy and observation already introduced many of those amendments and reforms in his military service for which the great King was so especially renowned; and that he cast his eye around him for fit agents to carry them out. Leonard Torstenson was an officer especially suited for any service requiring the utmost intelligence; but in regard to the direction of the field-artillery, it does not appear that he had ever studied, or at all events, had ever practised, that branch of the service. The Swedish artillery, as is well known, was

the first to combine mobility of manœuvre with rapidity of fire and precision of aim. How much of the merit of the new inventions rested with Torstenson, and how much with the King himself, it is not easy now to determine; but there is no doubt that while the form and *attelage* of the engine may have been devised by His Majesty, the superior service of the guns was the work of the General. By the contrivance of a kind of artillery cartridge, which he termed *sabots*, it is said (on the high authority of the present Emperor of the French, *études sur le passé et l'avenir de l'artillerie*) that the Swedish cannon could be fired more rapidly than the enemy's small arms. Notice has been already taken of an invention to which Gustavus Adolphus was very partial throughout his whole career—leather cannon. These were constructed of wrought iron pipes, strengthened with concentric staves of wood, compactly bound together by thongs of leather, and enveloped in a covering of the same material. These were comparatively light pieces, although some of them carried sixteen-pounders; but they were never intended for any thing but field-work. It was for firing grape and canister rather than ball that this artillery was so great a favourite with the King: he attached them for this service to regiments and brigades, from which they were never separated; and they were so short and light as even to be drawn by a squad of men. In the capacity of Chief of Artillery, Torstenson must have given this invention his sanction, but it is never named after the King's death in any operation.

Storms the Castle of Wurzburg.

His first service in the field under this new appointment was at the siege of Wurzburg in 1631. The castle of this place, called the Marienberg, was situated above the Maine, on the left bank of that river, and was garrisoned by an old and experienced warrior of the name of Keller, with a force of 1000 men. The stone bridge that connected the castle with the city had been blown up; but the King carried his army across the

river on some flat-bottomed boats called *praams;* and although he ordered the trenches to be opened, he resolved to attempt to carry the works by storm; but in reconnoitring the defences for this object, it was discovered in the night, that a drawbridge, either from forgetfulness or over-confidence, had not been drawn up; and a young Livonian, who had but seven men with him, detecting this oversight, rushed across and carried it, and was already inside the castle when the columns were advancing to the attack; so that in a few moments this citadel, with all its provisions and treasures, was in the hands of Torstenson, who had been appointed to the command of the storming party.

Torstenson proves his genius at the Lech and the camp at Nuremberg.

In 1632 we find him employed in the same service against Kreutznach in the Pfalz. Here he was seriously wounded in the head when about to scale the wall from a ladder. He does not appear, however, to have been very long absent from his post, but, as soon as he was restored to health, was at the side of Gustavus Adolphus at the passage of the Lech, where it was mainly owing to the ably-directed fire of his artillery that the famous Tilly was defeated and his position carried. The Swedish artillery was brought to bear with considerable effect upon all the obstacles that had been prepared by Tilly for its defence, against which Torstenson caused three batteries to be erected, which he armed with the till then unusual power of seventy-two field-pieces. Another expedient of Torstenson was, causing the smoke that was occasioned by the fire of the batteries to be increased by burning wood and wet straw; this smoke the wind wafted across; so that while the din drowned the noise of the axes, the bridge was effectively carried across and fixed. This operation, however, occupied forty-eight hours; and it required all Torstenson's address to keep off the Bavarian tirailleurs, who continually threatened to come down upon the bank. We next hear of him as strengthening the camp that the King of Sweden had taken up with his army, near the

free city of Nuremberg. The extent of the lines embraced the circuit of the entire buildings of the town, and the river Pegnitz flowed through the midst of the camp, dividing it into two parts, which was so effectually protected with ditches and ramparts, that Wallenstein abandoned all idea of attacking it, but took up a corresponding camp about twenty miles distant, between the rivers Biber and Rednitz, having the Castle of Altenberg for its citadel. Here the opposing armies continued for some weeks, while the skill of the chief engineers on both sides was exerted to render each camp impregnable.

The intrenchments on both sides.

It was probably the just strategic eye of Gustavus Adolphus that fixed upon Nuremberg as the pivot of his operations at this period, but it was the skill of his engineer Torstenson that directed the spade which aided the lance and musket. The works completely surrounded the town and suburbs, extending to a circumference of at least six miles. Bastions and redans, interspersed with ravelins, according to the nature of the ground, were connected by a ditch twelve feet broad and eight feet deep. And there were also closed works, or redoubts, on detached elevations. On the opposite camp the old Castle of Altenberg frowned over its ditches and its ancient walls, the defenders of which peered over double and triple barricades of abattis, almost justifying the exclamation of the godless Imperial Generalissimo, when he told the adjutant who brought him false news that the King had got within the defences, "There is no God in heaven, if this stronghold can be taken."

Torstenson is taken prisoner.

A singular accident led at length to the attack on St. Bartholomew's Day, 24th August, 1632. A deserter, calling himself the valet-de-chambre of the Imperial General Aldringer, presented himself in the Swedish lines, and testified (in obedience to his master's orders, it is supposed) to the want that had increased to such a degree in the Imperial camp that Wallenstein was about to retire from it with his whole army. The pro-

bability of such an issue was enough to convince the King of its truth, and he at once ordered the assault. As usual with His Majesty's tactics, this was to be made under the concentric fire of sixty pieces of artillery, which were confided to the direction of Torstenson. The Swedes were soon convinced that they had been misled by the deserter. Seven times were they led against the Castle of Altenberg, fighting, exposed and without any cover, against a confident and intrenched enemy. The combat was one of the fiercest and bloodiest that had occurred throughout the whole of this long war, continuing for ten hours amid the incessant roaring of 200 cannon. The Imperial army is said to have lost 2000 men; that of the Swedish army has been variously reported, and made by some to have counted 5000, including wounded and prisoners, and amongst the latter our hero—the Grand Master of Artillery himself. Torstenson's capture is reported to have occurred in this wise:—The Imperial cavalry under Fugger threw itself irresistibly upon some Swedish infantry who defended the batteries, at the head of whom the gallant Zeugmeister placed himself forthwith, and fearlessly opposed for some time all the efforts of the assailants. He succeeded in safely bringing off the greater portion of the Swedish battalions, who were enabled to withdraw in safety; but in the personal exertions requisite for this object he was taken captive by a Bavarian regiment, and carried away to the tent of the Elector Maximilian, who ordered him to be transmitted forthwith to Ingoldstadt, one of his strongest fortresses, and there to be held a close prisoner. No character in the whole "Thirty Years' War" was a more furious bigot to his faith, or more relentless to a supposed enemy to it, than Maximilian, hereditary Duke of Bavaria, and, by the favour of the Emperor Ferdinand, successor to the unfortunate Frederick, King of Bohemia, as Elector Palatine. As a triumph over the Swede, a hated Protestant race, and over one

known to be a personal friend of Gustavus Adolphus, the man he most dreaded, he regarded Torstenson as a "precious captive," and resolved to wreak upon him the full amount of vengeance due against the Swedish King, in respect of his spoliated capital. He refused to regard Torstenson as an honest soldier taken in war in the gallant execution of his duty as a general, but considered him as a criminal and malefactor, for whom no punishment could be sufficiently severe. He was accordingly consigned to a dark damp vault, whose walls exuded with the saltpetre with which the greater portion of the Bavarian soil in that vicinity is impregnated. The consequence of such severity was (naturally enough), to sow disease in Torstenson's constitution, which in the first instance showed itself in rheumatism, but eventually superinduced gout of the most virulent character, which will be found in the following history of this most amiable and heroic man to have very remarkably affected all his subsequent career.

He is liberated, and resumes his duty.

It was a general custom at this era, that officers of high rank when taken captive could only redeem their liberty by the payment of an extravagant ransom. Liberal offers to release Torstenson from his imprisonment were made by Gustavus Adolphus before his glorious death at Lutzen; but all the negotiations that had been made, both before and subsequent to that great calamity for Swedish influence, were interrupted or proved fruitless. At length Count Harrach, the brother-in-law of Wallenstein, fell into the hands of Oxenstierna, who availed himself of the accident with great adroitness to declare that he would set Harrach at liberty on the sole consideration that Torstenson should be given up in exchange. The Duke of Friedland was accordingly compelled to pay to the Elector of Bavaria a great sum of money as the ransom of the Swedish General, whose chains were thus at length broken, and he again resumed the command of a Swedish army-corps in the field, and at the head of it

successfully took Landsberg by storm on the 13th April, 1633.

His bitter grief for the loss of his royal master, his dear patron and friend, induced him to petition the Swedish Chancellor that he might return home to endeavour to recover his health in his native air, as well as that he might pay his last duties to the obsequies of his deceased King. He accordingly hastened to Wolgast, whence he sailed in the squadron that conveyed the royal corpse to Sweden. When it was interred in the Ridderholm Church at Stockholm, he assisted on that solemn occasion by carrying the State banner (one emblazoned with the escutcheons of all the different provinces of the kingdom), and the brave veteran embalmed the coffin of the finest soldier of that or any other age by a plentiful flow of tears. While Torstenson remained in Sweden recruiting his greatly impaired health, he directed his attention to every thing that could serve to improve the efficiency of the Swedish gun-practice; and the Regency nominated him again Grand Master of the Artillery. Attends the obsequies of Gustavus Adolphus.

The armistice of Stumsdorf, which had been a truce for six years, was about to expire in 1635, and accordingly an army 20,000 strong was assembled under the command of the veteran Jacob de la Gardie[2] to enter Effects an opportune junction with Baner.

[2] The family of De la Gardie was descended from a French adventurer, who, in the service of Denmark and Sweden, fought with great success against the Russians, and was drowned accidentally in the Narva, in 1585: Jacob, named above, was employed in the wars of Charles IX. against both Muscovy and Poland, and from the renown he had obtained he was constituted military preceptor to Gustavus, while he was also General-in-Chief of the army in which he served as Crown-Prince. It is related of him, that when employed on some diplomatic mission, he was required by some of the attendants at the Czar's palace to leave his sword in the ante-chamber:—"Gentlemen," said the old soldier, "you may give countenance to what forms you please, but the Prince your master has some obligations to this sword of mine, when I aided him by my Sovereign's orders in the campaign against the Polanders; and be the disappointment of an interview with His

Prussia, with a view of restraining the machinations of the Poles; and, as at this juncture the disastrous battle of Nordlingen had for a time thrown some disparagement over the Swedish arms, it was thought desirable to colleague Torstenson with the veteran who commanded that force. However, through the mediation of England, France, Holland, and Brandenburg, the armistice was renewed for twenty-six years in September of the same year; and Torstenson received orders to carry the army that had been under De la Gardie into Germany, to relieve and assist the equally celebrated Baner, whom the superior number of his antagonists had compelled at this time to fall back upon the frontiers of Mecklenburg. He made his appearance at his gallant friend's head-quarters just at the decisive moment; for by his presence, he secured possession of Pomerania, and, continuing his march through Usedom and Demmin, reached Malchin in November, where he united his forces with those of General Baner, which amounted after the junction to 7000 foot and 9000 horse. Such a leader and such a reinforcement to the disorganized army gave a new and unexpected turn to the war.

Gains, with Baner, a signal victory at Wittstock.

The Saxon Electoral army was immediately attacked and driven back to the banks of the Havel. The Elector, John George, retired, endeavouring by every means to divert the war from the Saxon frontier. Baner at this time quitted the command of the Swedish army, in consequence of the loss of his wife, and gave it over temporarily to Torstenson, who proved himself an obstinate adversary to the machinations of George of

Majesty ever so great, no monarch upon earth shall make De la Gardie resign his sword except Gustavus." At the country-seat that belonged to the family is a hall adorned with paintings, portraits, and emblems relating to the actions of his illustrious pupil; and in lesser squares are the heads of all the Generals of his wars, each bearing emblematical designs relative to the character of each officer. I have endeavoured to obtain photographs of such interesting contemporary memorials of the "Thirty Years' War."

Luneburg and John George of Saxony, who were now confederated. His unfortunate country had been continually pillaged by both armies; and on one occasion Torstenson at the head of his cavalry met several Saxon regiments near Goldberg and dissipated their strength, capturing eleven standards. He also had some successes against them at Luneburg and Winsen. But Baner, returning to his command, was in time to fight, along with Torstenson, the glorious and decisive battle of Wittstock, on the 24th September, 1636.

Ably conducts the retreat to Stettin: takes Arnheim, the Saxon General, prisoner.

In the ensuing spring of 1637 he shared in the successes at Eilenberg, and notably so in the defence of the intrenched camp at Torgau, in which the Swedish army maintained itself against the Imperialists for four months; and subsequently in the retreat to Stettin,— one of the most remarkable achievements of the kind recorded in military annals,—when saved, as by a miracle, the combined generals effected a junction with the army of Gustavus Wrangel, and encamped the army securely under the walls of that fortress. The cause of Sweden in Germany was at this period at its lowest ebb. The Imperialists, under Gallas, overran the central parts of the Empire, and had retrieved their losses every where; and Pomerania itself became towards the end of the year the theatre of war. Nevertheless, Baner and Torstenson did not abandon hope, but trusted at least to hold the invaders in check until fresh succour could arrive from Sweden. The difficulty nevertheless was extreme, and, greatly to the praise of these worthy brethren in arms, it was successfully overcome; for by their exertions the discipline of the troops and their regular pay and supply were effected, notwithstanding the unbridled licence which, in spite of the severest punishments, disgraced the operations of all armies at this period. In compliance with wishes expressed from home, Torstenson, at this time being relieved from any anxiety of interruption from the enemy,

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carried out a desire of the Chancellor, and by a surprise seized the famous Saxon General Arnheim on his estate at Boitzerburg on the 7th March, 1637, and sent him a captive into Sweden to answer for his underhand conduct against that kingdom with the Emperor, the Elector, and Wallenstein, throughout the entire war. Arnheim had, however, altogether withdrawn from any conduct of affairs, and resided there as the friend and confidant of the Duke of Saxe Altenburg; but, though he subsequently escaped out of captivity, "the Lutheran Capuchin" died, a bitter foe to the Swedes to the last, on the 18th April, 1641.

Opportune arrival of reinforcements: Bohemia invaded.

At length reinforcements arrived from Sweden in June, 1638, and the army was mustered in the plains near Stettin to the strength of eleven brigades of infantry and thirty-two regiments of cavalry. Such leaders as Baner and Torstenson were sure to be prepared for action, and they immediately went forward, and so unexpected was their advance, that they surprised some Imperial regiments near the head-quarters of General Gallas, and captured a considerable number of prisoners, with ten standards. The result of this *camisado* was, that the Imperialists fell back upon Havelburg, and the Swedes pursuing them closely were enabled to pass the Elbe without opposition. Baner and Torstenson now separated; and while the former marched on Erfurt, the latter drove the enemy out of Halberstadt; but the two uniting again took Pirna, on which unhappy city the fortune of this terrible war fell with such severity, that its capture at this time is known in the annals of war as "the misery of Pirna." Pursuing their course into the spring of 1639, the triumphant Swedes overcame the Imperialists and Saxons on the 4th April near Chemnitz, and forthwith carried the war again into the kingdom of Bohemia.

Torstenson is compelled by ill-health

For a long time the sufferings of ill-health had increased on Torstenson. His friend and brother commander, Baner, was a noted friend of the pleasures of

the table; and although contemporary history justifies our hero as loving them only in an inferior degree, it is more than probable that he was still apt to indulge himself in the company of such a friend, and moreover, that he was unable during the exertions of a campaign to attend to the consequences of such a habit of life upon a disordered frame. He had accordingly become so confirmed a cripple from gout, that he repeatedly solicited the Swedish Regency to grant him leave of absence from the army on account of his infirmities; and having at length received permission, Torstenson took leave of Baner, the friend of his youth and his constant comrade in arms, whom he was destined never to meet again. On his arrival in his native country he was called to the Senate in April, 1640, and assisted in its deliberations for the benefit of Sweden with much assiduity.

to return to Sweden.

But this comparative repose did not last long. The news of Baner's death united all voices in the nomination of Torstenson to be his successor, and in spite of his allegations that the gout and stone rendered him incapable of active service, his excuses were not admitted by the popular voice, and, with the increased dignity of Field-Marshal, he was forced to accept the truncheon of command in June, 1641. The condition of the Swedish army after Baner's death made the early departure of the new Commander-in-Chief indispensable; and considerable reinforcements of good troops for the army in Germany, and fresh supplies of money, were collected in order that he might undertake something decisive immediately on his arrival. He found the army which he was sent to command in the most fearful state of disorganization. The Generals were all endeavouring to seize the command from one another; and the troops, composed of many nations, were under great arrears of pay, and in open mutiny. Indeed, it was afterwards found that secret negotiations were going on with Austria, by which the superior officers

Is recalled to the army by Baner's death.

were all conspiring to sell their fealty for greater pay and higher privileges. A lucky incident enabled Torstenson to act with vigour: the correspondence of the mutineers had been stowed away in a stable, where a kitten in its play had exposed the papers, and these were carried to Torstenson. For the most part the letters were anonymous, or under assumed names; but he detected the participation in them of a colonel of one of the regiments, whom he immediately caused to be arrested and tried, and he was condemned to be shot; which sentence was carried into execution in face of the army: but in the Generalissimo's prudence he thought the example sufficient, and determined to proceed no further with such severity, or even with his investigations, but at once gave orders that the troops should take the field, so as to give them occupation, and thus remove the inducement and destroy the germ of further conspiracies. Having led his forces across the Aller, a river of Hanover, he pitched his camp near that stream, and placed his head-quarters in Bergen, on the frontier of Brandenburg. The Swedish army remained, it is true, for some time inactive for any great purpose, owing to the scarcity of supplies; but it was so admirably posted, that the enemy could accomplish nothing against it; wherefore the Imperialists, adopting the initiative, passed the Elbe, and advanced to Tangermunde, pretending a design against Mecklenburg, and hoping to draw the Swedes into that country; but Torstenson saw through the stratagem, and remained stationary, while the Bavarian contingent, finding that Duchy exhausted, became dissatisfied, quitted the Imperial army, and marched away from it into Franconia.

Invades Silesia: capture of Gros-Glogau.

Under Torstenson the military affairs of Sweden became soon changed: new operations were introduced, and even such new maxims of war adopted as necessity dictated, the issue of which has so far justified them, that they have since been admitted as truths into the military canon. The first maxim of war that he in-

augurated has been since adopted by the French in their great wars, and by the Prussians in their petty bullyings,—that war should be made to maintain itself: indeed the British alone have never practised it. Our hero determined in the impending campaign to make Silesia the seat of his operations, in order to advance through the rich and highly-cultivated hereditary states to the very gates of Vienna. In order, however, to distract the enemy's attention, he first so conducted his operations as if to manœuvre for the invasion of Westphalia, whither he despatched Kœnigsmark with nine regiments. He himself crossed the Elbe at Werben, and the Havel near Havelburg, in March, 1642, and from thence penetrated into Saxony, where he effected a junction with Stalhanske, and at the head of some 20,000 men, of whom 9000 were horse, he inundated the Electorate with his Swedes, and thence penetrating into Silesia, displayed his banner as far forward as Gros-Glogau. This place was garrisoned by 1500 musketeers and 200 horsemen, and was surrounded by strong double walls, with high towers and ravelins, having deep ditches, and a bridge across the Oder, which was moreover flanked and fortified by redoubts. A cannonade was first opened against it on the 28th April, when news arrived that the Duke of Saxe Lauenberg was assembling forces for the succour of the place. Torstenson, whose army was very much in want of provisions (of which the fortress had good store), resolved, notwithstanding the strength of the works, to take advantage of the ardour of his troops —which was stimulated by the prospect of the booty within—to attempt an assault. This was made at dawn of day against the Dom island, near the Oder-gate, when a sudden cry of "The Swedes have crossed the river" awakened the garrison of the island out of their morning repose. The besieged attempted to organize a sally, with a view of dislodging the Swedes; but, being repulsed, they fled to the city, and in the disorder the besiegers entered it along with themselves.

Of the garrison, 800 were killed, and the rest made prisoners. A general pillage of the place succeeded its capture, in which a church was accidentally burned; but the booty was large, and the army was thereby provisioned for a long time to come.

Capture of Schweidnitz: capture and death of Franz-Albrecht.

The next blow aimed by Torstenson was against Schweidnitz, a renowned fortress securely placed at the foot of the Riesengebirge, strongly protected by nature, and already strengthened by the science of fortification, at this period developing its powers. Torstenson, believing that the capture of this fortress would be very advantageous, ordered Kœnigsmark to march at once to the assault. The Duke of Saxe Lauenberg, as soon as he heard that the place was threatened, marched to its succour, without waiting for the assistance of Piccolomini, who was in the vicinity with another Imperial army; for he considered that the fate of Upper Silesia depended on its preservation. The Swedish Commander-in-Chief, however, had garrisoned all the passes by which the Imperialists could march through the mountains, and, assuming the command of Kœnigsmark's division, ordered an attack to be made promptly on the Duke's left wing. Franz-Albrecht threw himself forward where the battle raged the fiercest, and, at the head of his cavalry, set an example of the most devoted valour, until struck by two balls he fell from his horse, and was immediately taken prisoner. A notion prevailed among the Swedish troops at the time that this Prince had struck down the great Gustavus Adolphus with his own hand in the fatal fight at Lutzen; and, as he had since taken service under the Emperor, a very great prejudice existed against him. Accordingly, when the rumour reached Stockholm, Oxenstierna wrote, "If it be true, as I am inclined to believe, that the Duke Franz-Albrecht is taken prisoner, keep him secure, my son." Torstenson successfully protected his person from the resentment of the Swedish sol-

diery; but his wounds proved incurable, and he died a few days after Schweidnitz had surrendered.

Crippled in both feet and hands, so that he could scarcely subscribe his name, Torstenson had now become such a martyr to the gout as to be obliged to make the entire campaign in a litter at the head of the divisions. But he showed, nevertheless, that he surpassed his able predecessor in energy, as well as his opponents in activity—"for his enterprises had wings, though his body was held by the most frightful fetters[3]:" and his troops were satisfied that, although infirm in body, his genius could still provide for their success and security. The Swedish armies were at this time perfectly glutted with the fertile produce of the hereditary provinces, in which they had now established the seat of war.

Siege and capture of Olmutz.

Having become actual master of Silesia by the capture of Schweidnitz, Torstenson crossed the Udeti mountains, and moved off towards Olmutz, in Moravia, the most strongly fortified town north of the Danube. The great artillerist at once opened a fire of twenty guns against the walls, and then ordered two assaults, which, though they did not succeed, so alarmed the Governor, one Miniati, an Italian, that, seeing preparations making for a third assault, he sent out a blank sheet of paper to Torstenson, whereon to inscribe his own terms of capitulation; but he very justly expiated with his life this grievous dereliction of duty, and was beheaded for it subsequently at Vienna. About this time Prosnitz, Littau, and Neustadt, in Moravia, surrendered to General Kœnigsmark; and Neisse, in Silesia, fell to General Liljehok of the army of Torstenson.

Torstenson relieves Gros-Glogau.

These successes so alarmed the Emperor, that he sent orders to Piccolomini, who had succeeded the Duke of Saxe Lauenberg in the command of the col-

[3] Schiller.

lective Imperial forces, to check the Swedish Generalissimo, who had again descended the Oder, and had sat down before Brieg, having openly announced his intention of becoming also master of Breslau. The Archduke Leopold William, brother of the Emperor, was now united in the command with Piccolomini. Torstenson was in consequence of this superior force obliged to raise the siege of Brieg, and resolved to await the reinforcements he was now expecting to arrive from Sweden under Gustavus Wrangel, ere he ventured to trust the issue of the campaign to the hazard of a battle. He pitched his camp near the confluence of the Neisse and Oder, by which position he covered a district not yet pillaged, as well as secured the passes across the mountains by which his reinforcements might be expected to arrive. The Imperial commanders did not dare to attack him there, but marched against Gros-Glogau to alarm the Swede, which really filled him with severe apprehensions, although the fortress was defended by a numerous garrison and was under the command of an experienced officer. The outworks were already captured by the Imperialists, and the surrender seemed imminent, when, on the 26th August, Gustavus Wrangel landed on the shores of the Baltic; whereupon Torstenson, relying on the speedy junction of his Lieutenant, and feeling all the influence of his known arrival, broke up his camp, and by this bold step successfully relieved the distressed city on the 7th September, 1642. Piccolomini in some haste, upon the approach of Torstenson, raised the siege, in which he had lost 1200 men; and, directing his march through the Giant mountains, he established his headquarters at Schmiedeberg, within the Bohemian frontier. The Imperialist Field-Marshal thought to induce Torstenson to follow him into the mountains, but the Swedish Generalissimo descended the valley of the Oder, and on the 13th carried Bunzlau, on the Bober, by storm, and thence marched through the Marquisate

of Lusatia, rich in supplies for his army, and whence he could observe his adversary's movements from a distance.

At length Torstenson resolved to transfer the seat of war into Saxony, and force his adversary to a battle. Passing the Elbe accordingly at Torgau, on the 20th October, he invested Leipzig, where Kœnigsmark rejoined the main army. As usual, a bombardment was the prelude to further operations, during which it was learned from some prisoners, that Piccolomini and the Archduke Leopold were coming up by forced marches to give the Generalissimo battle. On this, Torstenson raised the siege on the 22nd, and, turning sharp round upon his adversaries, advanced to the old battle-field of Breitenfeld, and prepared to receive them almost on the very ground on which eleven years previously Gustavus Adolphus had won his glorious victory over the renowned Tilly. But the respective positions of the two armies were reversed, and the Swede now assumed the ground that had then been held by the Imperialists; for the latter faced towards the north, and the former had the towers of Leipzig in full view to the south. The whole field was, however, consecrated ground alike to the Swedes, and calculated to excite all the ardour and heroism of the countrymen of the great King.

Encounters the Imperialists at Breitenfeld.

A heavy cannonade on both sides opened the battle; and, although the fire of the Swedish artillery had the reputation of being superior, yet that of the Imperialists committed greater havoc. One of its earliest shots unhorsed Torstenson, and brought the young Swedish Prince Charles Gustavus (afterwards King Charles X.) to the ground. The Swedish infantry nevertheless advanced in good battle array, in the teeth of grape-shot and small arms, which last were aimed with as much precision as the great guns. After the first discharge, however, the musketeers closed, and the fight became a general *mêlée*. "It was a very hard action,

The desperate action that ensued.

and we fought long pike to pike," for it must be remembered that this battle was fought before the invention of the bayonet. The Swedish right, under Wittenberg and Stalhanske, first attacked the Imperial left, which had not yet completed its formation; and it is said that their cavalry, which endeavoured to cover it, were dispersed at the first onset, and rendered incapable of further service by being put to flight, although the Archduke in person endeavoured, but in vain, to stop the fugitives. The Swedish left and the brigades opposed to it fought with great resolution; and the Imperialist right wing having killed the commander of their opponents, Erich-Slange (known for his gallant conduct at Prague as the Swedish Leonidas), overcame the regiments opposed to them, and many of the Swedish artillerymen abandoned their pieces. Kœnigsmark and the young Prince Charles Augustus averted this calamity, and restored order, while Liljehok, with some squadrons of horse, fell upon the Archduke's body-regiment, where he fell mortally wounded. But here again the young Swedish Prince placed himself in the position of the fallen leader, and gallantly led the horse back to the attack, in which he obtained full success. The battle lasted about four hours; but as soon as it was over Charles Gustavus hastened to the spot where Liljehok lay, and the brave soldier expired in the young Prince's arms.

Total defeat of the Imperialists.

The Archduke, and even Piccolomini, and nearly all the superior officers of the Imperialists, mingled in the contest, and fought more like private soldiers than generals; nor did they quit the battle-field till the general flight swept all indiscriminately away with it. After four hours' combat, 5000 of the enemy lay dead, and the plain was covered with 200 Imperial standards, ensigns, and banners, and forty-six cannon, together with the entire baggage, which included the gold and silver plate, as well as the chancery of the Archduke. Two thousand prisoners, including several officers of

note, were also captured. The pursuit after the Imperialists was hot and fatiguing; but as soon as possible the Swedish Generalissimo called back his troops, and at once reinvested Leipzig, in the hope of satisfying the most urgent wants of the war by the capture of that rich city, which had been all day in the very sight of the field of battle. This battle was fought on the 2nd November, new style; but the courage of the Imperial garrison under the disadvantages of their position is worthy of all admiration, for they did not open their gates to the Swedes under all their extreme depression until the 28th. The city, however, was heavily mulcted for escaping a final assault. Schiller says, "that three tons of gold, or 300,000 rix-dollars, was its ransom, with 36,000 ells of cloth for the clothing of the army."

Torstenson is obliged to raise the siege of Freiberg.

Before quitting the neighbourhood of Leipzig, Torstenson sought a conference with the French Marshal Guebriant, and the two leaders combined their future operations. The rainy weather had set in with such severity, that the Swedish army had suffered greatly from it before the capture of the city; but having now found some indemnification within its walls, the Generalissimo resolved again upon a march into Bohemia; and as the fortress of Freiberg in Saxony was said to be well stored with provisions, and unlikely to hold out long, it was the first object of his cupidity. The Imperial Court was, however, filled with consternation at the success and energy of Torstenson, and decreed that all the troops in the service of Austria should be collected to stop his victorious progress. Freiberg was animated to the like determined opposition that had influenced it when Baner had formerly made an attempt upon its walls, so that by the middle of February, 1643, it still defied the Swedish power. The garrison was, however, reduced to the last extremity, when Piccolomini and the Archduke arrived to its relief; and Torstenson was under the necessity of raising the siege, in which he

had lost 1500 men. Concurrent circumstances, however, had brought about this resolve. The Generalissimo was himself laid low by his old complaints; and sickness, from the want of all the necessaries of life, had infested the entire camp in one form or another.

Reorganizes the Swedish army.

The Swedes therefore, followed by the Imperialists, crossed the Elbe, and marched back again into Lusatia. Here Torstenson established his camp on the banks of the Reichen, when the enemy quitted pursuit, and returned into Bohemia. A considerable period of inaction now ensued. The Swedish Generalissimo endeavoured by means of pressing letters home to obtain recruits and loans of money, and employed his leisure in the reorganization of his army. The Imperialist Generals gave him plenty of time to effect this, for great dissensions had arisen among them. Piccolomini, in consequence of some estrangement, had entered the Spanish service; and the Archduke had quitted Germany, to succeed to the command that had been held by the Cardinal Infanta in the Netherlands; so that Gallas was again called out of retirement, and placed at the head of the Imperial army.

War with Denmark: Torstenson receives orders to march into Holstein.

Torstenson exhibited in the campaign of 1643 those wonderful powers of locomotion which before his time had rarely been attempted, but to which Frederick the Great and Napoleon alike owed much of their successes in later times. He first endeavoured to penetrate through Bohemia into Moravia. Gallas was especially ordered to watch and flank him, but on no account to give him battle. The Swedish army at one time threatened Prague, and then abandoning the road to the Danube unexpectedly reached the neighbourhood of Olmutz, before which the Imperialists had sat down with a view to besiege it, but promptly and precipitately raised the siege in July. Torstenson then intrenched himself at Tobischau, while Gallas encamped opposite. From this point the Swedish Generalissimo commanded the rich resources of the Moravian Marquisate, and

evincing the same energy and untiring mind in diplomacy as in war, he entered into some negotiations with the Prince of Transylvania, and proposed to join him in an invasion of Hungary. But orders now arrived from Sweden to march to the north of Germany; for war had broken out with Denmark, and his presence was required in Holstein. In September, 1643, therefore, Torstenson broke up his camp, and marched into Silesia, while Gallas still hung upon the march. Availing himself of his pertinacious vicinity, he offered to conclude a truce with him for a few weeks in order to effect an exchange of prisoners; and he founded this offer upon the negotiations for the termination of the war, which had been opened early in this year by the French at Munster; but this was done in subtlety and to gain time. The Imperial General was completely taken in by this wily suggestion of his astute opponent, and undertook to forward his proposal to Vienna, while in the mean time, instead of harassing the Swedish army on the march, as was his duty, he simply confined himself to being on his guard against any attack from the Swedes.

Having reinforced his garrisons in Moravia, Torstenson followed the course of the Oder, and crossed that river at Little Glogau on the 26th November; but, the better to conceal his purpose, instead of thence taking the direct route towards Mecklenburg, he marched upon Torgau, where he threw a bridge across the Elbe, and spread the rumour that he intended to take up his winter-quarters at Hilderheim, or Halberstadt; but, again changing the direction of his march, he threw a bridge at the confluence of the Tanger and Elbe, and on the 6th of December he established his head-quarters at Havelburg, in the Electorate of Brandenburg.

Rapidity of his march to Denmark.

This unparalleled march across Germany was accomplished with the rapidity of lightning, and occasioned such addition to the sufferings of his opponents, who

had to pursue him in the midst of a cold and stormy winter, that it is said they lost 5000 horses in the operation, which were not easily to be replaced either from an exhausted empire, or, in the state of the Imperial exchequer, from other provinces. Torstenson astonished both friend and foe by the consummate ability of his movements. His officers and soldiers followed him blindly without seeking to divine the ultimate object of such precipitate, and, to them, inexplicable proceedings, and the necessity of such trials upon their endurance. But now, at length, he let them into the secret, which had been hitherto so well kept that he utterly astonished them by the announcement that he was leading them against the Danes into Holstein. The provinces of Germany, which had been so long the seat of war, were in truth utterly exhausted and laid waste, and it was therefore easy enough to make his soldiers the grateful assurance that a district hitherto unvisited by war would amply remunerate them for all their toil and suffering. In fifteen or sixteen days they had marched from the Oder to the Trave, a distance of nearly 500 miles; and it was not alone an effort attended with excessive fatigue, but one of constant vigilance against an enemy superior in force, and in close proximity, ready to take advantage of any false move. Torstenson's entire train of artillery had moreover accompanied his march as far as Torgau, at which place he embarked it on the Elbe, and had it transported down stream to Domitz, a fortified town in the duchy of Mecklenburg, where he could defend it by a strong citadel, on an island in the river. It has been thought that Torstenson imperilled unnecessarily and unmilitarily his field artillery by this separation, since there were many roving partisans about at that period. However, it appears to have safely reached its destination, and on the 12th December the Swedish army entered Holstein by the way of Oldesloe on the Trave, about fifteen miles west of Lubeck.

The Dutch join the Swedes against the Danes.

The old animosity between the Swede and the Dane was at this moment increased by personal as well as by political considerations. King Christian had endeavoured, and had failed, to place himself at the head of the Protestant cause of Germany before Gustavus Adolphus and his generals had taken the matter out of his hands. But there was always a standing grievance between the two nations in the matter of the Sound-dues. The Danish King had prohibited troops and military stores from passing through that passage of the sea, and the Dutch had in consequence felt themselves aggrieved in this, as being in effect an exaction upon their commerce; so that they united with Sweden in 1643 to strike a sudden blow at Denmark, to revenge themselves upon their illegally assumed right. Torstenson, who only considered the military side of the question, had warned his government of the dangers that might threaten his flanks from the side of Poland, if called upon to make such an aggression into the Danish mainland: but the Council wrote to him in reply, "We will take care that the Russians and Poles keep quiet, while you pluck the feathers from the Danish goose." With this view they had equipped a strong fleet, under Fleming, to keep a vigilant eye on the shores of the Baltic.

Resolute conduct of the King of Denmark.

Christian IV., deserted by his allies, and ill supported even by his own people, showed a degree of fortitude sufficient to atone for many of his former shortcomings. He admitted that in his sixty-eighth year he was too old and infirm for land service; but he laboured incessantly to prepare a fleet to oppose the enemy, and said "he would fight his ships in such a way as should let the world know that he was true to his country." By great exertions he got forty ships ready for sea, of which he assumed the command in person. He encountered Fleming off Femern on the 6th July, when a furious battle ensued. The old King received no less than twenty-three wounds in the conflict, and his men

were for a moment discouraged by the report that he was killed; but in a short time he appeared upon deck with his bleeding head tied up, animating his sailors with the sword in his bandaged hand. He lost his right eye by a wound from a splinter; but he nevertheless captured two Swedish ships, and had lost none of his own. When urged to retire to Copenhagen to get cured of his wound, the indignant Sailor-King replied, "I have no wish to live but only to be revenged upon the Swede." In some measure His Majesty may have been under the influence of an old prophecy, said to have been uttered by the famous Tycho Brahe, "that in the year 1644 the Danish King should be driven in much misery from his dominions." In the battle of the 6th July, a ball that ricocheted from the water passed into the cabin of the Swedish flagship, and carried away the leg of Admiral Fleming, who was standing washing his hands at the moment. The same shot cut off both legs of the servant standing by him.

Torstenson's success: he sends Wrangel to occupy Denmark.

Nearly all the towns and castles in the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig surrendered to the advancing Swedes, and on the 14th January, 1644, Torstenson established his head-quarters in Hadersleben. From this place he despatched Wrangel with a detachment to occupy the kingdom; a daring officer, who did his duty so thoroughly, that in six weeks or two months, the Swede was master of the entire Danish peninsular possessions, excepting Kiel and Gluckstadt. Torstenson's forethought and care of his soldiers may be seen in the letter he wrote to Gustavus Wrangel on this occasion:—"General,—You have to take all possible precautions that the soldiers do not suffer from any cause; and also to keep good order among the horsemen, that the grain which comes in very opportunely may not be damaged."

On the other side of the Kattegat also the Regency had despatched a body of 14,000 horse and foot, under the celebrated Field-Marshal Gustavus Horn, who had

by an eight years' captivity expiated the rashness of Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar at Nordlingen in 1634; and now again in the beginning of the year 1644 he was once more in the field, having been exchanged against Johann Von Werth. He was sent to take possession of Scania, a part of the Danish possessions that had once belonged to the kingdom of Sweden.

The Emperor despatches aid to Denmark: critical position of Torstenson and the Swedish army.

The Emperor was not disposed to regard the irruption of the Swedes into Denmark with indifference. His Majesty saw that the best chance of preserving his Empire was to shut up and crush Torstenson in Jutland. He accordingly arranged that Hatzfeld should overwhelm the troops of Kœnigsmark, while Gallas should follow after the Generalissimo. Accordingly, in April, 1644, that Imperial General broke up from his winter-quarters in Bohemia, and, marching direct into Holstein, advanced upon Kiel, in which port Torstenson lay sick. In consequence of the death of Admiral Fleming, Field-Marshal Wrangel was appointed to succeed him in the command of the fleet. Not exactly imitating the rapidity of a Swedish march, it was the 23rd June before the approach of the Imperial army was sufficiently advanced to be notified to the Generalissimo, who had arranged with his old comrade, now in command of the fleet, to make a combined descent from the seaboard on some of the Danish isles. Gallas came in time to stop this; and Torstenson accordingly wrote to the Field-Marshal from his sick bed at Kiel,—"Gallas approaches with his whole force; and we must desist from the plan concerted." Wrangel, much mortified at this change, set sail on the 1st August, and Torstenson relinquished Kiel, which Gallas forthwith entered. He had been reinforced on his march through Misnia by the divisions of Coloredo and Bruays, and had united with some Danish troops near Oldenloe; so that he was at the head of a really numerous army; and the Swedish army was in a somewhat embarrassing position. The vigilance, activity, and mas-

terly ability of Torstenson alone saved the Swedish army from imminent danger. He without delay concentrated all his forces near Rendsburg, calling in every Swedish corps dispersed over the conquered country, and at once attacked the field-works which the Danes had thrown up; and by this means forced his way through an unoccupied gap or defile, which had been left unguarded between Schleswic and Stapenholm; and he then marched before the eyes of Gallas, with drums beating and colours flying, offering a defiance of battle to the Imperial General, which either he did not dare, or had been instructed not, to accept. Thus defiling under the very intrenchments of the Imperialists, the Swedes marched out of Holstein, and encamped near the Castle of Ratzenburg, in the duchy of Lauenberg. Gallas followed after, but, without attempting any thing, crossed the Elbe, and entered the duchy of Lunenburg; the Swedes following, and actually harassing the rear of the Imperialists. At the conclusion of the campaign a medal was struck, on which was inscribed, "The distinguished achievements of Gallas in Holstein." On one side was a subject, but the reverse was perfectly smooth and without impression, signifying, with bitter sarcasm, the incompetency of the unfortunate Gallas.

Gallas is signally routed by the Swedes.

Torstenson passed the Elbe near Boitzenburg, and subsequently pursued the Imperialists across the Saale, when he resolved to assume the offensive, and try to cut them off from their communications with Saxony and Bohemia. Still Gallas would not risk a battle, but sought safety from the sword of his enemy in the fortress of Magdeburg. The Generals, Bruays and Enkefort, serving under him, could not endure such a disgraceful termination of the campaign, but in the silence of night sallied forth on the 21st November out of the city, and boldly marched off without their chief towards Silesia. But the Swedes were too vigilant to miss their prey, and, taking a circuitous route through

Wittenberg, they came upon the fugitives on the 23rd, and crushed them completely, capturing General Enkefort and more than 4000 men. Gallas remained apparently hopelessly shut up in Magdeburg, before which place Kœnigsmark kept watch, while the rest of the Swedish army marched into winter-quarters in Misnia. However, on the 23rd December, the freshets of the river having washed away the bridge which the Swedes had thrown over the Elbe, Gallas took advantage of the opportunity, and escaped with about 2000 haggard followers, who were all that remained to him, with whom to reach Bohemia, from whence they had started a numerous and splendid army, that was to drive the Swedes into the sea from the northern cape of Jutland.

Torstenson in vain solicits permission to retire under his severe physical sufferings.

The physical sufferings of the Generalissimo in these moments of highest triumph were such, that he wrote to his government to implore a release from his command, and to be permitted to return to Sweden to alleviate his anguish. But his application was denied him, though in the most flattering terms: "You have done all well, and we value your services so highly that we would gladly grant your desire, and release you from your arduous duties; but your success in war, and your authority in the army, more especially over the foreign soldiery, are so great, that we must beg you to endure your command with patience for some short time longer." It was like our own Collingwood sighing for his home and country, but sacrificing his life to the exercise of his patriotism. Indeed there was something of our Collingwood in the whole of Torstenson's career, dating from the same unaffected love for his master in war, as Nelson or Gustavus.

He suddenly reassumes the command, and marches towards Bohemia.

The Danish war had, however, for nearly twelve months freed the Emperor from his most dangerous enemy, and afforded a slight respite to exhausted Germany. But with the spring of 1645, to the extreme consternation of the Imperial adherents, the irresistible Swede stood again triumphant on German soil, and

Torstenson now resolved, as he wrote home to the Regency, "to attack the Emperor in the heart, and force him to peace." Accordingly, with a view of securing his communications and of protecting his rear, he directed Kœnigsmark to remain in Westphalia, and associated him with Axel Lilye, the governor of Leipzig, in opening negotiations with the Electôr of Saxony for his neutrality, while he prepared to march into Bohemia with the main army. The Emperor, accompanied by the Archduke, forthwith repaired to Prague, in order to see into the state of its defences, and to revive the dejected spirits of the Imperial army. Gallas was of course deprived of his command, which was given to Field-Marshal Hatzfeld; and Field-Marshal Goetz was recalled from Hungary, and colleagued with that general; while Field-Marshal Werth and General Mercy were appointed to commands for the protection of the other hereditary dominions. But Ferdinand III. relied, above every other protection, on that of the blessed Virgin Mary, who it was said had appeared to His Majesty in a dream, and promised him victory.

Enters Bohemia, and encamps at Kaaden.

In January, 1645, Torstenson, at the head of 16,000 men, and eighty pieces of artillery, crossed the Erzgebirge, entered Bohemia, and took up his camp at Kaaden, on the river Eger. The winter was peculiarly severe, especially in this wild, forest-clad mountainous region, where the rivers were locked up with ice. The hardy Northerners, excited by the prospect of the impending conflict, endured all the trials and discomforts of a winter campaign; and even the poor Generalissimo rose superior to his bodily infirmities. The intense cold increasing told the more severely upon the Swedes, as they had no camp equipage or utensils. Nevertheless they had been long inured to such work, and passed by almost inaccessible mountain paths never before traversed by wheels. The brave commander, suffering severely from his maladies, and oftener in a litter than on horseback, animated his

men, and encouraged them to endure with fortitude the hardships and labours that the exigency entailed.

As soon as the bridges across the Eger, which had been injured by the freshets upon that mountain river, were repaired, the Swedish army was put in motion in the last days of January. At first it was thought that they meditated an invasion into the Pfalz; and Hatzfeld, accordingly, pushed forward to the line of the Wottawa. Torstenson, however, on reaching this river had turned along the left bank to Horazchowitz, and first descried the Imperialists on the opposite bank on the 16th February. Both armies, when they met, cannonaded each other, and it was thought in both that they would engage, but they did not. The Swedes marched forward to Klokowitz on the Moldau, which river they traversed on the ice with their whole train of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, and were not interrupted. Torstenson had caused reports to be spread, that he meditated the relief of Olmutz; and Hatzfeld, accordingly, marched by Mulhausen upon the Sternberg, so as most effectually to bar the way to the Swedes. Whether or no this was really the object of the Generalissimo, so it was that the Swedes and the Imperialists suddenly faced each other on the 23rd opposite Janikau, as the latter were on their march to the same place by Wolitz.

The Swedes and Imperialists prepare for action at Janikau.

The Austrian Generalissimo had the assistance of a most able and vigilant outpost officer,—Colonel Sporck, who had gained great experience in that sort of service against the French cavalry in Alsace, and who now, with 200 picked horsemen, kept a sharp look out upon every motion of the Swedish army, and he now reported that Torstenson was in position opposite Janikau. The Imperial forces exceeded the Swedes by about 3000 men; but the excess was principally in cavalry, the infantry being nearly equal on both sides. In the Swedish council of war, which was held on the field, it was the unanimous determination, "after mature consultation of all the generals and

colonels, in God's name to attack the enemy;" all concurring heartily with Torstenson that a battle, if successful, would be the most hopeful means of terminating trials unexceeded, if indeed they could have been equalled, in any previous campaign. It has been said, as has been stated above, that His Imperial Majesty, relying upon the promise of the blessed Virgin, had expressly directed Hatzfeld to hazard a battle. At any rate, the Austrian Field-Marshal found himself compelled to fight, his adversary's strategy leaving him without an alternative; so that even if he had not received orders to that effect, he no sooner saw the enemy before him than he formed his order of battle near Janikau, and occupied all the hills, so as to place that town between the two armies; and this was not, in fact, occupied by either army.

Disposition of the Swedish forces.

Throughout the night (23rd-24th) the Swedes made a great noise in moving their artillery, and using their wheel carriages, so as to excite the attention of the enemy as if they were establishing batteries of cannon every where; while twice in the course of the night "Buttasella" (boots and saddles) was sounded, as if the army was about to march off in retreat. Torstenson had made himself master of the plan of the ground before nightfall, and had observed on the left of the Imperialists a mountain chapel, the possession of which would seem to give its occupant the command of the whole country. Having satisfied himself that Goetz, who commanded that flank, had failed to occupy it, a Swedish detachment was sent as soon as it was light to secure it. Torstenson's military instinct assured him that this was the key of the whole battle-ground, and he hastened to hold it to possess this advantage. He then disposed his army in two lines, without any reserve. Six regiments formed the centre of the first line; and two other regiments were so formed in the second line, as to cover the intervals between the regiments in the first; while thirteen regiments of cavalry composed the

right wing, and as many more the left. Some of these, which were broken into subdivisions, afforded space for 40 "commanded men." These were a moiety of musketeers, picked and selected for desperate service, under superior officers, whose custom it was to march without colours. This was a favourite invention of the Swedish King. The artillery seems to have been so placed, as to be served as circumstances might require. The right wing of the Swedish army was under the command of Wittenberg, the left under that of Robert Douglas, a Scotchman, in the service of Sweden. The centre was under the immediate direction of Caspar Montaigne, and the watchword was "Help, Jesus!"

Plan of battle of the Imperialists.

The Imperialists' army, according to the unwieldy tactical formation of the Germans in the seventeenth century, was in *tertias*, or masses, of several thousand men each. Six of these, which consisted principally of the Bavarians, constituted the right, under Mercy and Von Werth. Field-Marshal Goetz headed the left, composed of a single line of infantry, with the cavalry in a second line. The Saxons were in the centre. The Imperialist artillery only comprised twenty-six guns. The watchword was the war-cry of the savage,—"No quarter."

Oversight of Goetz in the battle, and his death.

Goetz no sooner beheld the Swedish occupation of the mountain chapel, than he remembered that he had been especially enjoined by the Generalissimo, Hatzfeld, to secure it; and with headlong courage, but without the common precautions of military science, he advanced with this object at the head of his whole infantry and twenty-five squadrons of cavalry. Torstenson, however, had already occupied it in force; and the Imperialists, hampered by underwood, entangled amongst marshes, and impeded by a stream that expanded into occasional small lakes, found themselves exposed (as in a pit closely packed together) to a plunging fire of artillery, which played upon their disorganized ranks with fearful effect. Nevertheless, Goetz persisted in the assault, though neither his cavalry nor infantry had space to

deploy; until after a sharp conflict, his troops suffered a complete defeat, and retired, leaving him dead on the spot. Hatzfeld exerted himself to send him up assistance, but could not effect his purpose. The Swedish artillery, now freed from the defence of the hill, was directed from the chapel against the main line of the enemy; and the Imperial Commander-in-Chief, hearing of the death of Goetz, and that his division had been defeated and dispersed, leaving three pieces of artillery in the hands of the Swedes, saw fit to send orders for a retrograde movement. This he successfully effected towards the heights which arose in that range in the form of terraces, and rendered the attack of the Swedes extremely difficult. He thought that here he might be able to hold out until evening, when he hoped to effect the further retreat of his army under cover of night.

Torstenson's wife is made prisoner. Total rout of the Austrians.

As soon as Torstenson received the report that the Imperialists had made a stand, he caused himself to be carried in his litter near enough to their line to be able to reconnoitre it; but he so far erred in his judgment, that he thought it was only a strong rearguard that he saw before him, and therefore contented himself by merely ordering some musketeers to advance under cover of one or two guns to keep them amused. But Hatzfeld had drawn together upon that spot all his forces, and had assumed a new position, his right wing resting on Janikau, and his left extending to a village that he caused to be set on fire soon after noon. The Commander-in-Chief then put himself at the head of the Bavarian Electorate cavalry, and unexpectedly fell upon the Swedes, whose right wing was broken; but the Germans, coming upon the baggage, began immediately to plunder it. And it was here that Torstenson's faithful wife, who had been ever with her husband in the field to assuage his terrible sufferings by her devoted tenderness, fell into the enemy's hands, and was carried to the tent of Johann Von Werth. Fortune,

indeed, seemed at the moment to have turned to the side of the Emperor. The Swedish horse charged six, seven, and even eight times against the Bavarians, and were quite exhausted; scarcely an officer was left living in their ranks who was not wounded. Torstenson, who had justly earned and received the war name of "Lightning," for his extraordinary quickness of sight, was present every where,—now in a litter, now on horseback,—and at this time he trusted to the efficacy of his favourite arm, his artillery, which he caused to play "after the old Swedish wont." The Imperialist attack happened to have been made without any connected plan; and accordingly only succeeded here and there by some momentary impulse; but, not having been concerted or supported by reserves, it soon flagged, and failed. Hatzfeld devoted his attention to cover his troops from the effects of the fire of the Swedish artillery, under which they staggered and faltered. The Commander-in-Chief of the Imperialists displayed to the last the cool courage of a self-collected general, and the fiery valour of a soldier; but his troops, maddened by the play of the Swedish guns, broke from his control; and Hatzfeld, borne along despite of himself, notwithstanding the confusion and disorder of the ranks, gave the order for a general advance. When turned "right about," neither the example nor exhortations of the officers could, however, keep their line firm; and the flanks of the Imperialists becoming shaken, the whole Swedish forces—horse and foot—threw themselves upon their adversary with simultaneous fury. The Austrians fought bravely and obstinately, but soon became disorganized, driven together and jammed into one compact mass, without order, or the possibility of being restored to any regular formation. At length this confused mass dissolved itself in the obviously natural way, each man seeking to provide for his own safety by indiscriminate flight.

Herewith ended one of the most bloody battles of Torstenson's wife

liberated: this terrible war, which lasted with little intermission from eight a.m. until four p.m. Every reader will be glad to know, that before this hour Torstenson had the happiness of liberating his wife—a most worthy helpmeet of the hero—and that by a rapid movement of his own. Hatzfeld, the Commander-in-Chief, was taken prisoner, as well as Mercy. Goetz and Bruay were killed, or died of their wounds. Upwards of 4000 men were left dead on the field; nearly 100 ensigns, all the artillery, and all the ammunition and baggage fell into the hands of the victors. The Swedes lost, it is said, about 2000 killed, besides wounded.

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The crowning trophy of the bloody field of Janikau, or Jankowitz, was the destruction of the last army, and the capture of the best general remaining to the Emperor. The first was utterly disorganized; for, besides the killed, there was a great array of prisoners. Torstenson remained in position, with at least 12,000 men fit for active service, at the termination of the desperate conflict; and, with this handful, and such mercenaries as his constant success attracted to his standard, he remained undisputed master of all the open country in the Imperial hereditary States north of the Danube. Ferdinand III. received intelligence of the annihilation of all his hopes through the disfavour of the Virgin Mary when he was at Prague, and, terror-stricken, the bigoted Emperor knew not what course to take, for he found himself at the mercy of his great Swedish adversary. To escape capture his only resource was in flight, which he carried into execution the very next day after the news of the defeat reached him. His first object was to reach Ratisbon, whence he descended the Danube to Vienna by water, quite incognito, in order to avoid the Swedish cavalry, who were already scouring the country. The Archduke Leopold undertook, however, with 5000 inferior troops, to defend the long line of the Danube, while negotiations were opened with the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, to come in aid of the Head of the Empire.

Immediately after the battle of Janikau, Gallas, whose misfortunes in the Danish campaign were in the extremity of necessity forgotten, was again recalled to active service; and the duty was assigned to him of reassembling the dispersed and broken regiments, and of reorganizing an army for the protection of the person of the Emperor. Imperial edicts were issued in Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria, ordering a conscription for the same object. Gallas established his head-quarters at Prague and Budweis, and thither the component parts of the new army were to be assembled. Had Torstenson taken advantage of the panic that existed, he could have broken up with ease the army cradle at Prague, for the city gates must have been thrown open on his approach.

Gallas is ordered to reorganize and recruit the army.

It would appear that the Generalissimo relied, for his subsequent machinations against the Emperor, upon a political rather than a military combination. Ragotsky, the Waivode of Transylvania, had been a constant thorn in the side of Austria; and Torstenson thought that he might at this time be readily induced to march up against Vienna from the side of Hungary, while he himself advanced against it from the side of Moravia. But the wily Ferdinand had already sent his negotiators to concede every demand in full to the inconstant Chief, who was always to be swayed by the offer of advantage, and who in fact entered into terms with both parties, and left both in complete uncertainty as to the course of policy and action he might be disposed to adopt in the result. The Swedish army naturally demanded breathing-time, to recover from their late very severe hardships; and accordingly, from the 25th February to the 6th March, such brief repose was granted the soldiery. But on the latter day the vanguard, under Major-General Wittenberg, was set in motion, directing their march towards Olmutz, which had, in truth, been constantly invested by the Imperialists for sixteen months. As soon, however, as

Capture of Krems and Stein: demolition of Durrenstein.

the Count Wallenstein, the blockading general, received intelligence of the recent battle, and of the approach of the Swedes, he precipitately broke up the investment without awaiting their arrival, and retired with all his forces to Brünn. The Generalissimo accordingly moved forward, to follow his steps, with 16,000 men, and 125 pieces of artillery, levying heavy contributions as he advanced, and proceeded to Znaim, on the Teya, whence he pushed forward his cavalry even to the Wolf's-bridge, where the road from Moravia and Bohemia traverses the Danube, about three miles from the old gate of Vienna. On his way he opened fire upon Krems, which he did with such a furious cannonade, that a breach was soon effected, and the garrison beat a parley, and capitulated. Stein, close by, and also upon the Danube, was likewise stormed and carried; as was also Durrenstein, in a similar position, which latter town was burnt, and the fortifications destroyed. In these towns and fortresses all the noble families of the Manharzberg had taken refuge, with their wives and families, and were now captured by the Swedes, who thus may be said, by the possession of the aristocracy, to have occupied already the entire of the two provinces of Austria north and south of the Danube.

On the 17th March, Torstenson, capturing as he marched along every castle and fortification that he passed—for the demoralized troops, who for the most part garrisoned them, were frightened out of their very senses at the sight of Swedish soldiers, and receiving from all these acquisitions, large stores and heavy contributions, for, as has been stated, the landlords had considered these to be strongholds that were secure, having defied capture since the very commencement of the religious wars—drew up all his forces in order of battle at Hochenau, about forty-five miles north-east of Vienna, and "here he celebrated in the midst of his army a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the glorious victory which had been so recently

vouchsafed to his country's arms, and for the other numerous successes with which they had been so signally favoured." After this, the Generalissimo hoped to give a finishing stroke to the war by the capture of the Imperial city, and, like the great Imperial Eagle itself, now swooped down upon the fortifications that guarded the Wolfsbrück, which is the outwork of the capital. "After a long and destructive circuit through every province of Germany, the stream of war had now rolled backward to its source, and the roar of the Swedish artillery came to remind the terrified Viennese of those balls which, at the commencement of the contest, now twenty-seven years ago, the Bohemian's rebellion had fired into the capital[4]."

Torstenson threatens Vienna: consternation of the inhabitants.

The approach to the city from Bohemia and Northern Germany was by a more circuitous route in 1645 than at present. After crossing four branches of the Danube, and the three small intervening islands, the road attained the northern bank of the mighty stream at what was termed the Wolfsbrück, higher up than the present noble structure known as the Tabor bridge; and this was then protected by a strong *tête de pont*. After a short but bloody contest, the Swedes in their complete mastery obtained possession of this fortification on the 27th-28th March. The alarm in the Imperial palace was at its height. The Empress Dowager and all the Imperial children fled away the same day from Vienna to Gratz; but the Emperor would not quit his post, and his noble Empress preferred to allow her children to leave her sight rather than abandon her husband in the hour of danger. Unwonted activity signalized the inhabitants: the suburbs were pulled down—the bastions and ramparts were repaired—the ditches were cleansed and deepened—the servants and journeymen from the palaces and workshops were organized and armed. Every one unable to bear arms, or to work, was ordered out of the city; and all the new levies were

[4] Schiller.

hurried up to unite with such old troops as could be collected, and all were concentrated in cantonments on the south side of the Danube. In the confidence entertained by the Imperial government that peace with Ragotsky, the successor of Bethlem Gabor, might be considered as concluded, General Count Von Buckheim brought up the Hungarian army of 4000 men, with whom he entered the city on the 19th April; by which time it was estimated that 35,000 men could be collected, without counting those under Gallas. To the Archduke Leopold William was entrusted the command of the means thus collected for the defence of Vienna.

As soon as the Swedish standards were seen to float above the Wolfsbrück, Torstenson was borne upon his litter in order to reconnoitre the further approaches to the metropolis of his country's most implacable opponent. He beheld his troops as they marched into the captured works swept away as fast as they entered it by the furious fire of the Archduke's batteries, which enfiladed every roadway that led towards the city. Seeing the gallant but ineffectual assaults of his soldiers, the Generalissimo ordered them to fall back a little, and shelter themselves from this fatal cannonade. Immediately taking advantage of this check, the Imperialists dashed forward, and set fire to the bridge. The communications across the Danube being thus severed, both armies set about throwing up intrenchments, to each of which the river became an impassable natural ditch. Baffled, but still hopeful, Torstenson caused himself to be borne back into his camp, to consider what was next to be done to attain his object. Instead of at once transferring his army to the south of the Danube, in some other place than the Wolfsbrück—for he was perfect master of the stream—he likewise trusted to his negotiations with Ragotsky, and removed his head-quarters on the 4th April to Mittelbach, on the Laye, to be nearer the Transylvanian communications; and on the 9th he received the gladsome in-

telligence that the Waivode would not subscribe to the conditions of Austria, and that he was advancing upon Presburg to join the Swedish army.

Torstenson suddenly raises the siege of Vienna, and invests Brünn.

On the 11th-12th of April, Torstenson made a sudden feint of throwing a bridge across the Danube, and crossing the river; the Swedes marched with their accustomed celerity towards the Vischa, and levied heavy contributions upon all the great lines of communication between Hungary and Vienna, which rendered provisions scarce and difficult to obtain in the Imperial capital. It is not easy to understand the reasons for these acts of the Swedish Generalissimo at this juncture. To attempt the great operation on which the success of his apparent object depended, and suddenly to convert it into a mere marauding or foraging party, was an infirmity of purpose—a weakness, to say the least of it; but with an inconstancy that is perfectly unintelligible, Torstenson, after four weeks' distant gaze at Vienna, unaccountably ordered away his army from the banks of the Danube to invest Brünn, the capital of Moravia, which was the only place in that circle that had not submitted to his arms. His spies had probably deceived him as to its preparation to receive him, or he probably had got false information from other sources, or else he had at length recognized that the force which he had assembled before Vienna was utterly insufficient to act against the overwhelming resources collected by the Emperor in his own capital, and determined to await the arrival of the Waivode, so that he merely undertook the siege of Brünn as a pastime. Brünn was principally strong from being commanded by the Castle of the Spielberg, at this time an union of the old feudal castle with the primitive oblong square redoubt bastioned at the four corners, and having a high four-sided keep-tower. It was garrisoned under the command of one De Souches, a French Protestant, but a fugitive out of the Swedish service, who was, when summoned, threatened with

death if he fell into the hands of Torstenson, unless he presently surrendered the place. De Souches with equal obstinacy answered the threat with a proud defiance.

Brünn is besieged.

On the 20th of April the investment of Brünn was completed, and the bombardment of the town continued every night till the 3rd of May. By the 15th the approaches had made great progress, and four heavy batteries were opened against the works. In the mean while the Archduke despatched Buckheim to Presburg, and he himself soon followed him there to exhort the inhabitants to remain faithful to the Emperor, and to resist Ragotsky's march. Then returning to Vienna on the 24th, he called Count Gallas into council as to the best means of acting against Torstenson. It was resolved to take advantage of Torstenson's absence, and drive the Swedes from the Wolfsbrück; and this measure was effectually carried out on the 28th, when the Swedish redoubt was carried by assault, and the commander, and 150 men, taken prisoners and carried into Vienna. The Imperialists at once occupied the works, and restored those portions of the bridge which had been blown up or burned. On the 4th-5th of June, Wittenberg, with some Swedish cavalry, attempted to recover the works at the Wolfsbrück, but did not succeed.

Three thousand Swedes, under Prince Charles Gustavus and the Scotch Douglas, effected a junction with Baccos Gabor and 1000 Transylvanian horse at Poson, on the 3rd of June, and this being known to Torstenson about the same day, he determined to press on the siege of Brünn; and, in order to spare his own men, he collected 2000 burghers and peasants from the towns he had captured, and compelled them to advance to the assault of the place, in order that the efforts of the garrison might be exhausted upon their own countrymen, over whose bodies his veterans might pass to an assault. This rather barbarous expedient failed, and almost all the civilians and many soldiers were slain.

Such a slaughter, in so hot a season, threatened to produce a pestilence, and accordingly Torstenson requested an armistice for the purpose of burying the dead. This De Souches acceded to; but while the Swedes were engaged in that duty, the unscrupulous Governor violated his pledge, and made a sortie, in which he captured several guns and ammunition waggons, and injured the works of the besiegers. The Frenchman justified his act against that of the Swede, who had violated all military usage by driving the peasantry like cattle against the fortress, in defiance of all generosity and humanity.

The operations of the siege were continued as well by trenches as by mines; and the Swedes had several times encountered the Imperialists in the subterranean galleries of the latter, and had therein fought hard, hand to hand, with pistols, hand-grenades, and other weapons, so that many of both sides were killed in these subterranean passages, of which at last the Swedes remained the masters. They perceived at this time that the countermines were no longer pushed forward with the same vigour as before by the besieged, which led the besiegers to conclude that the best miners had been killed and that they were approaching success, when all at once a body of 4000 cavalry, escorting 300 horses laden with powder, made their way past the Swedish outposts unobserved, and entered the town, carrying with them the most acceptable and requisite resources. But they only remained one night and day, and then as boldly and resolutely escaped out of it by way of a morass, which had been deemed impassable, and therefore was not strictly observed, and in which indeed some seventy or eighty horses, with many men, were bogged and lost. Notwithstanding these *contretemps*, Torstenson did not despair a moment as to the result, and kept his attention fixed upon a reduction of the Spielberg.

Meanwhile the Imperialist Generals were showing unwonted activity on every side. On the 6th, General Pompeo had taken by storm a strong redoubt from the

Swedes at Krems, and had subsequently recaptured Stein. Five thousand men also had arrived at Budweis, in Bohemia, and 4000 or 5000 Imperial cavalry out of Silesia were rendezvoused near Prague. Gallas quitted Vienna for Budweis, to make a diversion that might oblige the Generalissimo to raise the siege of Brünn, whose garrison, though hardly pressed and short of ammunition, still kept the Swedes in check. The Archduke, with energy and promptitude, came to the determination of attacking the head-quarters of the Generalissimo; and with that view secretly assembled in a wood adjacent thereto a flying force, consisting of four regiments of cavalry and 1000 commanded musketeers with three guns; but Torstenson was always too wide awake to be surprised in such a manner, and having divined the intention, anticipated it, and surprised the Imperialists, and utterly frustrated their plans.

It is probable that the success of the Swedish General rendered him somewhat foolhardy; at all events, having thus counterplotted his adversary, he resolved to protect himself from such attempts in future, and to leave Brünn to his adjutants. He accordingly at this time made an expedition to Iglau and Thabor, to have some personal communications with Baccos Gabor and his Transylvanians, at which place the Landgrave of Hesse, General Douglas, and Colonel Haumerstein, were now associated. It soon became apparent, as is often found to be the case, that the absence of the chief brought down all sorts of misfortunes upon the army. The Imperialists succeeded again in introducing supplies into Brünn, and upon one of these occasions the officer in charge of the escort obtained information that the Swedish soldiers had become so dissatisfied with the tedious operations of the siege, that they were deserting by thirty a day. This being reported at Vienna, these deserters were well received by the Government, and rewarded by two ducats each as bounty money, which in a short

time induced a great many to profit by the practice, so that the besieging force was seriously reduced, and could scarcely muster 10,000 men. Upon his return, the mortification of the Generalissimo was increased by the information that two Swedish regiments had suffered themselves to be surprised by the Imperialists. However, on the 24th July, the younger Ragotsky arrived at the camp of the besiegers with from 6000 to 8000 cavalry, and his father came up to Presburg the same day at the head of an army of from 20,000 to 30,000 men. Such was the alarm excited in the Hungarian capital by this inroad, that the sacred crown and regalia were removed, and strong reinforcements sent off from Vienna to Count Buckheim. The month of August accordingly opened under the most favourable auspices for the allies, but was not destined to close so brightly. Had Ragotsky united cordially with Torstenson, a complete triumph must have crowned their united efforts; but the Transylvanian Waivode's lukewarmness, and at length utter faithlessness, prevented every good result. On the 16th of August it was announced that a treaty had been concluded between Ragotsky and the Emperor, and that the former having obtained all he desired, had turned his back upon the Swedish army and returned home.

The Plague and, its consequences: the siege of Brünn raised.

But a more fearful calamity impended over both belligerents. The plague made its appearance amongst them. It first broke forth at Vienna, and the Emperor and Empress quitted the capital with the whole Imperial Court, and removed to St. Polten, about thirty-five miles west of it, on the Traun. Before Brünn likewise the pestilence developed itself with dreadful violence; and the season of the year inducing the soldiers in the field, always prone to such excesses, to indulge in unripe fruits, but more particularly in grapes, for which Moravia is said to be famous, dysentery and kindred maladies were soon produced, which rendered the camp of the besiegers a perfect hotbed of

disease. In September, the pestilence attained to such a height that the Generalissimo was forced to abandon an enterprise so prolific of suffering and death. He felt that the step must be taken without further dallying, and at once, but was yet unwilling to withdraw before making one last effort to obtain possession of the fortress. Opening, therefore, the usual preliminary fire from his batteries, and maintaining it hotly, so as to sweep the breaches of every defender, he ordered his troops to make a final assault. It failed, however; and a second attempt, like the first, proved unsuccessful. Torstenson therefore raised the siege of Brünn on the 24th August, after a close blockade of sixteen weeks; and repaired at once to Eisgrub, in Moravia, to have an interview with Ragotsky, of whom he demanded a formal explanation, and a declaration that the Swedish Queen had fulfilled every condition of their alliance. The Waivode, as astute on this occasion as the Generalissimo, replied to him, that he was perfectly ready to sign a paper to that effect, if Torstenson would furnish him in return with a certificate that he likewise had kept his faith. The interview, as was reasonably to be expected under the circumstances, accordingly ended without any satisfaction on either side.

Torstenson threatens Vienna.

Having raised the siege of Brünn, Torstenson returned to Mittelbach, where he replaced his head-quarters, while Wittenberg, with 3000 horse, made a reconnoissance upon the Wolfsbrück, where in a skirmish he lost 40 men, who were carried prisoners into Vienna. At this period, it is admitted that Torstenson had in the disappointment of his enterprises given way to feelings of rage and resentment, foreign hitherto to his nature. In the plenitude of his anger, the road by which he had advanced from Brünn to Vienna was given up to pillage, and the whole country round Nicolsburg, Austerlitz, and Feldsburg, was burned and "singed" all about. The lurid light of blazing villages, hamlets, castles, cottages, and farms, announced to the

watchmen on the lofty spire of the Stephan Dom Kirche, that the enemy was again advancing in the might of thunder, fire, and tempest. The Archduke, who had gone to Kötwein to meet the Emperor, hastened back to his cantonments on the Danube commanding the bridge. From 35,000 to 37,000 men, veteran and reliable troops, were now under his orders, and all danger from Ragotsky being removed, these could now be all readily collected to act against the Swedes. Torstenson's forces, dwindled down through desertion and disease, are said not to have numbered more than 10,500 men at this period, of whom about 8000 were cavalry, while the Generalissimo's maladies were now acting upon him with aggravated and irresistible power. Nevertheless he resumed his post at Mittelbach, to the end that he might offer the enemy battle, and put his deranged affairs to that arbitrament, or if that were refused him, that he might occasion both Upper and Lower Austria to be utterly spoiled alike by friends and enemies. The Emperor now returned from St. Polten to Mölk, on the Danube, but this place was not deemed a safe refuge for the head of the empire, and he accordingly removed to Linz, a point to which the Swedish flying corps had not yet reached, and where there was an ancient castle or palace of the Dukes of Austria, in which he could be secure.

His failure before Vienna accounted for.

Before the closing days of September the Swedish army withdrew altogether from out of sight of Vienna, and retraced their steps towards Bohemia. The capital was saved, but no Imperial General arrogated a triumph. Penury and famine, linked with disease, had proved to be the coalition that was invincible against all human strength and genius. "If, however, the designs of Torstenson were not crowned with all the success which promised their commencement, they were nevertheless productive of the most important consequences to the Swedish party. Denmark had been compelled to a peace—Saxony to a truce. The

Emperor, in the deliberations for peace which were now opened, offered greater concessions. France had become more manageable, and Sweden was enabled to be bolder and more confident in its bearing towards both crowns. Having thus nobly performed his duty, the author of these advantages retired adorned with laurels[5] that he had obtained *non sine pulvere.*"

In the beginning of October, about 10,000 Swedes, of whom 2000 were cavalry, landed in Pomerania, under the command of Gustavus Wrangel. These were to have composed an independent army in Lower Saxony and Westphalia: but now the continued ill-health of the Generalissimo, and the sufferings of his army from disease, changed the destination of these troops, and they were ordered to the valley of the Danube. Towards the end of the month a certain approximation of the two armies had been accomplished; but, singularly enough, the Generalissimo seemed unwilling to withdraw from the rich valley of the hereditary dominions; and the Imperial Generals appeared in no hurry to hasten him out of them.

Torstenson enters Silesia.

In November, Torstenson's head-quarters were in the Riesengebirge, about seventy miles north-east of Prague. Thence he marched through Trautenau, on the right bank of the Aupa, upon the extreme north-west of the kingdom, and entered Silesia, taking up his quarters in the villages north of Glatz; Kœnigsmark at the same time had his cantonments about ten miles from Schweidnitz; so that the two armies were in a position to move by an accustomed route on Dresden and Leipzig, although the real, but still disguised, object of the march was that of effecting a junction with the corps of Gustavus Wrangel. Like a funeral procession, the Swedish army "dragged its slow length along," through a district famed for the natural beauty and magnificence of its varied scenery, and, with solemn sadness,

[5] Schiller.

was bearing to the bourne of his greatness the physical capacities of its illustrious General.

But while thus cantoned in Silesia, strong detachments of the Swedish army continually went back into Bohemia, to collect the contributions imposed, but remaining still unpaid; until at length the Swedish main army, unable to withdraw itself from these delights, retraced its steps, and passing through the Duchies of Schweidnitz and Jauer, re-entered Bohemia. Suddenly, on the 1st December, Torstenson appeared before the town of Friedland,—the same place that had given the title of Duke to Wallenstein,—and at the first show of assault the town and castle surrendered. The Swedish forces then traversing the wild valleys, passed through the Giant Mountains, and poured once again into Bohemia. These important passes were mastered without resistance, so that, continually pressing onward, Leutmeritz was captured, where there was seized a vast quantity of provisions and wine. This achievement ended Torstenson's career, on the 3rd or 4th December, 1645, for the next day he relinquished the command of his army, and gave it over to General Wittenberg. The Generalissimo had perseveringly struggled with indomitable courage and power of resistance against the combined influence of the terrible diseases which he had for so very long a period kept at bay. For thirteen years Torstenson had defied the torment of gravel, which had added its virulence to the gout; and both had tortured him throughout the entire exercise of his command as Generalissimo; but now the consequences of these maladies mounted to his neck, and seized upon his head and breast—the seat of reason and the source of vitality. His brain and heart both at once assailed, rendered all efforts of further resistance impossible to human power of endurance, and Torstenson, writhing on the couch of pain, disappeared from the scene.

Is compelled by ill-health to retire from service.

As far back as October, 1644, the Generalissimo had

Is succeed-

ed in the command by Wrangel.

designated to the Swedish Ministry Gustavus Wrangel as the fittest person for his successor in the command of the Swedish armies in Germany, and had been answered in these terms:—"We approve of your wish." Accordingly, the two Generals now met at Eulenburg, in Saxony, and spent some days together in consultation as to future operations. Torstenson then journeyed to Leipzig, where he remained throughout the winter 1645-6. Here he lay confined to his bed, and suffering excruciating torment. Nevertheless, nothing of importance was undertaken by Wrangel, according to his instructions, without consultation with or reference to him; who may still be said to have acted as Generalissimo, since the plan for the campaign of 1646, and the movements of the armies were, we are assured, directed from his sick couch. On 27th February he wrote to Wrangel a letter, still extant, to this effect: "That he should avoid a general action until he could effect a junction with the French, when the aim of the allies should be to drive the Imperialists across the Danube." Again, there is a letter from him to the Landgravine of Hesse Cassel, showing his just appreciation of the French armies in their wars:—"Their fashion is to lie still in winter, so that they usually lost in winter the advantages that they had gained in summer."

Torstenson's sick couch was also attended with negotiators from various Sovereigns to aid in a peace. On the 20th February, General Arnheim and Councillor Oppel repaired to Eulenburg on the part of the Elector of Saxony. A difficult and wearisome discussion took place, which was greatly interrupted by the Emperor's Envoy, Count Poppel; but it was at length terminated by a treaty in May, when John George "sent his ratification of the terms by a trumpeter to Field-Marshal General Torstenson, then lying at Leipzig." About the same period Queen Christina received from the hands of the Generalissimo's messenger thirty-three infantry and forty-seven cavalry standards, which had

been taken the preceding year at Janikau; which trophies were received with great enthusiasm at Stockholm, where they heralded the approach of the hero himself. Her Majesty indeed condescended to despatch an especial messenger to her General in return. The Councillor Lillyenstrom was instructed to repair to him "who had so faithfully and successfully served the Crown of Sweden," to notify to him that it was her royal will and pleasure that he should return to Sweden, and this was further signified by an autograph letter under her own hand, of which he was the bearer. The same "royal legate" brought over diplomas of various high offices to which Torstenson had been nominated by her favour.

Torstenson returns to Sweden: his reception by his Sovereign.

After these preliminary honours, Torstenson moved from Leipzig to Erfurth, and thence proceeded to Pomerania, where he remained during the summer, to drink the mineral waters of Hornbrunn, hoping thereby to stay the maladies that consumed him; so that it was not till the month of September, 1646, that the General took ship to return to his native land. Bowed down with the weight of his sufferings, as by his laurels, he was welcomed by his grateful Sovereign like a victorious prince. Unable, nevertheless, by his continued illness, to present himself at Court, his son was solemnly invited to repair thither in February, 1647, when the young nobleman received in open court, from the hands of Queen Christina herself, the diploma by which his father's services and exalted merit were rewarded with the dignity of Count. She had already in the previous January granted to him the county of Orlala, from which he received his title, together with the hereditary county of Lyhandra, and a rich mine district in Upland, consisting of twelve parishes. At the same time a new shield of arms was conferred upon him, which are thus blazoned quarterly—1st and 2nd, field-pieces on their carriages, with piles of cannon-balls beneath, significant of his improvements and services in connexion

with the Swedish artillery: and 3rd and 4th, a crowned lion holding in his paw a piece of an eagle's wing, in allusion to his having by his victories crippled the power of the Emperor.

He is appointed to the government of West Gothland.

Defective, however, as his general health continued to be to the time of his death, the exhaustion of his physical powers had not affected the vigour of his understanding; and on the 31st May, 1648, he undertook the government of West Gothland, and took up his residence at Gottenburg. Christina thus confided to her veteran warrior her only port on the German Ocean, for the possession of which the Swedish people had paid in the hardest times that ever were known the heaviest subsidy that had ever been raised in the country; and entrusted to his charge the provinces that would have to bear the whole brunt of the war in the event of another rupture with Denmark.

Attends the coronation of Queen Christina. His death.

In 1650 Torstenson made his last exertion, and repaired to Stockholm to attend the coronation of the daughter of his great exemplar, Gustavus Adolphus, which was solemnized with a pomp hitherto unknown in Sweden on the 20th October in that year. It was the last move of his earthly pilgrimage, for his old diseases returned upon him more severely than ever. Queen Christina gave him quarters in the Königliche Residentz at Stockholm; and though he kept his bed through the entire winter, she frequently visited the fast-failing General upon his sick couch, and gave him the assurance that she would amply provide for the children he left behind him. "On Monday, 17th April, 1651, My Lord Count Leonhard Torstenson expired; missed and lamented by the whole Swedish nation. The Queen was with him shortly before his death, and he spoke his last words to her." Christina commanded that his body should be carried with the greatest state to the Church of the Riddesholm, which contains the tombs of a long line of Swedish monarchs, and where his leader, tutor, friend, and king, Gustavus Adolphus,

reposes his glorious head. The flash of 232 pieces of that artillery which had owed its superiority to his genius responded with re-echoing salvos from the different quarters of the city, accompanied with thundering broadsides from the great royal war-ships in the harbour; and rolling volleys from all the regiments of cavalry and artillery, all which saluted the obsequies of the great and virtuous Torstenson, as he was borne to his last resting-place.

His character, and personal appearance.

In describing the portrait of this hero, he must be painted as he appears in a contemporary illustration of him, resting upon his right elbow on his couch, or litter, gazing at Vienna from the north bank of the Danube. His features are, it is true, shaded by the broad-brimmed, slouched beaver, bearing floating plumes, which head-dress had superseded the helmet of a previous generation. He had a manly rather than a very handsome face, but it betokened cool courage, astute and solid ability, and an iron determination. In private intercourse he was a most amiable man, a generous enemy, and faithful friend; and his whole conduct was governed by a deep sense of religion. Mild in disposition, he was, nevertheless, a rigid disciplinarian, and successfully exerted himself to check the excesses of the Swedish army, which severity was too distasteful to the soldiery to acquire for him the popularity that had been obtained before his time by his more lax predecessor in command, Baner. As a general he has often been brought into comparison with his gallant friend; but, although he may not have equalled him in the fertility of his resources, yet he never placed his army in such desperate situations as to need the same extraordinary inventions of genius to save it from destruction. Torstenson seldom acted without due consideration and preparation, and never suffered good fortune to exalt, nor misfortune to depress him. His surpassing merit as a commander was the astonishing celerity and pertinacity of his movements, so that, as

has been already stated, he came to be called by his followers by the pet name of "Blixten" (Swedish for Lightning). So quick was his *flasht*, that with an entire army he flew from the Danube to the Belt, and back again, punishing effectively all who crossed his path, yet his advent was almost always unexpected, and it brought destruction wherever he appeared. But it was not alone to this lightning-like execution that he owed all the many successes which he achieved; he appeared to have all the eyes of Argus, and all the hands of Briareus. Among the many able generals of the school of Gustavus not one of them equalled him in the renown he justly acquired for the glory of Sweden.

His wife and children: disposal of his estates, and honours paid to his memory.

Torstenson married Beata de la Gardie, by whom he had six children, of whom only two survived him. The exploits of such men are, it is feared, too soon forgotten: and it is recorded, that within four years of his death it was suggested by some red-taped official, that a claim should be made to confiscate the General's late residence in Stockholm, which was required for some improvements in the city. Nevertheless it may still be seen, happily, bearing the coat of arms of honourable augmentation which had been granted to the hero. But let it be recorded to his honour: the Palsgrave, Charles Gustavus, then King Charles X., exclaimed, when this step was proposed to His Majesty, "If Count Torstenson's house stood upon the very square of the royal castle, it should nevertheless remain with his heirs. Faithful have been his services to Sweden, and to me, for was he not my preceptor in the art of war?" More than a century afterwards, Gustavus III., King of Sweden, having founded the Royal Academy at Stockholm, proposed for the subject of one of its first prizes for eloquence, an eulogy upon Torstenson; and, competing for it himself, it is alleged that he carried off the prize without his being known to have been a competitor[6].

[6] De Peyster's Life of Torstenson; Geijer; Schiller; Kriegs-Kunst-Lexikon; Fryell.

JOHANN DE WERTH, OR VON WEERTH,

AN IMPERIAL GENERAL.

Born 1594. Died 1652.

Obscurity of his birth and parentage: earliest service.

THIS General must be regarded as a very remarkable example of a successful soldier working his way from the condition of a peasant up to the supreme command of the Imperial armies, and as a warrior bearing a name of note which, though living in history with considerable reputation, is alike lost as to his place of birth or burial. He is thought to have been a native of the Netherlands, and to have been born about 1594, of a Roman Catholic peasant family, either at Weerde, a village in the Duchy of Aersdot, or in the little town of Werth, near Maseyk. His family name was even unknown to himself, and accordingly he called himself after the name of the place where he supposed he had been born, and never knew parents or brethren, "kith or kin," friend or patrons. He first took service as a

private horseman under Spinola's standard, and was present with that renowned general's army at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, in 1622. His religious characteristic probably led him to adopt the service of the Catholic League; for at the commencement of "The Thirty Years' War," or about 1632, he had already distinguished himself as a cavalry leader so greatly, that we find him in the ranks of the Imperialists as a colonel. Although his career was rather that of a successful cavalry officer than of a commander, yet he possessed all the qualities that are understood to belong to the partisan or Guerilla service. This arm probably requires the display of more personal military qualities than an ordinary subordinate—vigilance, daring, great activity, considerable address, if not actual genius, firmness, and resolution. On such an one devolves on a superior scale the acquirement of information so essential to the success or safety of a corps or army. He is mentioned as a Colonel of irregular cavalry, attending Ferdinand at the Castle of Mühldorf, when a body of 18,000 insurgent peasants from Upper Austria placed themselves upon the Emperor's communications with Wallenstein's army between the Danube and Bohemia. Count Keven Lüber was sent to negotiate with them, but Tieffenbach and De Werth attended to watch the progress of negotiations, and to be at hand to be let loose upon these disaffected men if they showed themselves to be "rusty." He was probably lent to the Elector Maximilian by the Emperor from time to time, for we find that several regiments of Bavarian cavalry were under the command of our hero. John De Werth was in an engagement in the month of December, 1632, when he defeated a Swedish corps near Herweeden, taking from them two guns and ten standards, and subsequently compelling three regiments to surrender whom he surprised by an ambuscade. This bold and successful deed obtained for him the rank of General.

In the spring of 1633, Werth was opposed to Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, who had taken post in Franconia. The daring leader had only 2000 horsemen with him, with whom, however, he so dodged the steps of the Duke's army, that with some irritation Bernhard turned upon this intrusive adversary, who would allow him no rest, and who had, on 24th March, almost surprised and taken him prisoner in his head-quarters at Altenried. When the Swedes advanced, De Werth fled before their attack sixteen miles in two hours, until arriving near Altmühl he was so pressed, that he turned sharp upon his pursuers, and with so much violence, as completely to knock over the leading ranks of the cavalry of the advanced guard: these were, however, quickly supported by infantry, and even by artillery, so that it was only with considerable difficulty that De Werth could avail himself of the defiles offered by the ground, although he still resisted the attack for three hours before he effected his escape; and afterwards De Werth endeavoured in vain to prevent the junction of the armies of Saxe Weimar and Horn in their advance on Neuburg in 1633. He subsequently received the express orders from the Generalissimo of the Imperial armies, Wallenstein, to confine himself to the observance of the Swedish army divisions then scattered in Bavaria, while the Duke himself went into Bohemia to the encounter of Saxe Weimar. In this way De Werth hampered Horn very considerably in the siege of Kostnitz, and he forced him to raise it in September. In October he found an opportunity of destroying a few Swedish regiments (about 3000 men) under General Spereuther, near Augsburg, and he even dared to lay siege himself to Eichstadt; and, although opposed by Colonel Taupadel, who endeavoured to oblige him to raise the siege, had surprised his antagonist in a night attack, and either killed or took prisoners the whole detachment. After this success, De Werth endeavoured, although unsuccessfully, to prevent

Saxe Weimar from taking possession of Ratisbon; who had taken post in a camp that he intrenched near the junction of the Iser and the Danube, for the purpose of threatening the Emperor. The Prince, however, advanced against him and defeated him. Nevertheless, De Werth was not of the class of generals who are disheartened by a casual defeat, or any temporary adversity; but, watching his opportunity, he again advanced upon his adversary, and surprised a few Swedish regiments belonging to Bernhard's army near Straubingen, and punished them effectually.

Defeats Saxe Weimar at Nordlingen.

After Wallenstein's death, he was almost the only man of his rank who came in for none of the "pickings," which were so fully shared, to his exclusion, by Von Gallas, Piccolomini, Coloredo, Trautmansdorf, Aldringer, and even the Emperor himself, who had condescended to appropriate Sagan to his own use; but, on the other hand, John De Werth is not on the black list of Wallenstein's assassins, nor is he implicated in the slightest degree as having had a guilty knowledge of his most atrocious murder. The office of Generalissimo was now vested in Ferdinand, King of the Romans, who forthwith summoned De Werth to activity. Duke Bernhard, still on the Danube, was visited by his old adversary in his head-quarters at Deggendorf, whither De Werth and Aldringer were directed to undertake the observation of the vicinity of the Swedish forces, while the whole Imperial army undertook the siege of Ratisbon; and, on 22nd March, our hero appeared before Landshut, on the Iser, and took that place by storm. It was while vainly attempting to save that town that his colleague in command, Aldringer, perished (in the general conflagration that gave up Landshut to the fate of Magdeburg from the explosion of a powder magazine in the castle). Ratisbon having capitulated on 26th July, Von Gallas and Duke Bernhard met on the great field of Nördlingen on 26th August, and De Werth took a

conspicuous part in that great victory, at the head of the Imperial cavalry. To him was entrusted the pursuit of the fugitives after this fight so fatal to Saxe Weimar's reputation; and this task he carried out so effectually, that he took many thousands in a night surprise at Calb. John de Werth was taken wholly into the service of the Elector Maximilian after the death of Aldringer, and had now the command of the entire Bavarian army. Before quitting the Emperor, for his services on this occasion, he was made Field-Marshal-Lieutenant, and a Baron of the Empire, which title was endowed with about 20,000 doubloons of prize-money.

Penetrates, with Piccolomini, into France: general consternation of the inhabitants.

In January, 1635, De Werth led the Bavarian forces across the frozen Rhine, and, ravaging Alsace, took possession of Philipsburg and Spire in March. Heidelberg also fell, and two French regiments were cut to pieces at Reichenveiher by the cavalry under John de Werth; but he was suddenly called back to Munich and Vienna to give his opinion upon the plan for the ensuing campaign, considerably affected at this juncture by the consequences of the peace of Prague. Amongst the most important results of that event had been the appearance of France amongst the enemies of the Empire, so that Spain and the Cardinal Infanta were now desirous of making an operation that might create alarm even in Paris itself. For this purpose it was proposed to De Werth to make an inroad at the head of a considerable body of horse from the Netherlands frontier. Accordingly, in 1636, a *corps d'armée* was advanced to Corbie on the Somme, as if to besiege it, and in the mean time Piccolomini and De Werth went forward towards Paris—the latter, advancing rapidly with his cavalry, beat the French cavalry in every attempt at resistance, forced the passage of the Somme and the Oise, and spread terror throughout the Isle de France. The cities that he passed hastened to lay their keys at his feet; the

nobles begged for sentinels to guard their houses, and paid for this security to the Bavarian Commander by enormous presents. The *gardiens de chasse* of the different royal parks and palaces were hastily collected by the French Government, and Paris emptied itself of every available citizen, who were organized for its defence, although crowds made off to Chartres and Orleans to get for safety beyond the Loire; but Piccolomini, either from timidity or covetousness, was so tardy in bringing forward the infantry to act with De Werth's cavalry, that before Corbie surrendered, Cardinal Richelieu had gained sufficient time to levy his troops, and to send forth a respectable force to check the progress of the Imperialists. Nevertheless, had the Infanta taken Werth's advice, not to stop and besiege Corbie, but to push forward all his forces to Paris at once, the capital, then without walls and ditches, must have opened its gates to the foe. As it was, De Werth got as near to it as Montigny, where in a night attack, on 28th September, he surprised and cut off a considerable detachment of French cavalry, and brought away all their horses, together with eighteen standards. Indeed it was not until the autumnal rains and floods damaged the communications, and rendered foraging difficult, bringing also disease into the Imperial camp, that De Werth retired altogether out of France.

Takes Ehrenbreitstein: defeats Bernhard of Saxe Weimar: is taken prisoner.

It was part of the plan decided upon at Vienna for the campaign, that the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein (then called Hermanstein) should be besieged and taken from the French, who still occupied it with a garrison. De Werth was accordingly now directed to undertake this operation. As it was even then of impregnable strength, and quite beyond any insult except by a regular siege, he resolved to starve it out; and with great vigilance he so encircled it with his light troops, that an endeavour of the Prince of Hesse to carry munitions and supplies into the beleaguered fortress was frustrated, and it at length capitulated to De Werth on the 28th January,

1637. It was during this period, while he had his head-quarters at Cologne, that having become ennobled and enriched he wedded in that city the Countess Spauer, of an ancient Tyrolese family. In the remainder of the year De Werth was continually opposed to Bernhard of Saxe Weimar in Franconia with his flying corps, principally consisting of horse. On the 29th July he came rapidly down upon the Duke from Darmstadt with 3000 cavalry, and, surprising Bernhard's camp on the right bank of the Rhine, he obliged that Prince to seek his personal safety by swimming the river. He was several times wounded in these harrying expeditions, and at the siege of Hanau especially he was so grievously hit, that he was under the necessity of repairing to Munich to be cured; his forces were therefore left to turn into winter-quarters. He was in the Bavarian capital, already pretty well recovered from his wounds, when he received orders to go and look after Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, who had suddenly crossed the Rhine on the 16th February, 1638, with his dismounted cavalry, and had thrown himself into the mountains of the bishopric of Basle, into which no enemy had yet penetrated, and which were well stored with supplies, &c., of every kind. The Prince had already sat down before Rheinfelden, when De Werth was required to employ all expedition in order to relieve its garrison. He forthwith marched four days and two nights through a deep snow across the Black Forest to hasten the required relief, and having sent orders to the Duke of Savelli to join him in the mountains he collected nine regiments of cavalry and eight of infantry, with which he appeared in time to dispute Duke Bernhard's operations against the beleaguered town of Rheinfelden on the 28th February. De Werth did not lose a moment in falling upon the besiegers, for he had learned that Saxe Weimar himself was departed across the river. He was fortunate enough to force the Confederates to raise the siege

and retire to Lauffenburg. The old Landgrave of the Rhine and the Duke de Rohan were both mortally wounded in these encounters, and De Werth likewise again received a wound on the cheek; two days later, however, on the 21st, the Duke recrossed the Rhine, and, gathering all his strength together, resolved to revenge the defeat of his troops and dispute the matter over again with De Werth, who, he heard, was celebrating his victory in his camp with some disorder. The Imperialist troops were accordingly scattered, when they were suddenly assailed, so that, although the chief himself was soon in the saddle, he could not collect his men together; and unfortunately his horse receiving a severe shot-wound became unmanageable, and in the scuffle carried him straight into the enemy's ranks, where he became a prisoner as well as Savelli; and indeed the greater part of his army, who, deprived of their leader and all the worse for their orgies, were in universal confusion, so that they were easily discomfited and dispersed in every direction.

His chivalrous treatment by his French captors: is exchanged for the Swedish General Horn.

Von Werth was carried in the first instance to the Castle of Beifeld, and was assured by his captor that he should not be sent away to any castle, but be permitted to remain a captive at large in Germany; but Cardinal Richelieu, in order to gratify the Parisians with the sight of a general who had occasioned them so many alarms, made a point with Duke Bernhard (who was in fact at the time in command of the troops of France), that De Werth should be given up to the French King; and Weimar had many reasons of his own for conceding the Cardinal's wishes. Our hero was accordingly sent prisoner to Paris. Louis XIII., delighted with the acquisition of such a trophy as the General who had so lately bearded him in his very capital, gave directions with considerable magnanimity that De Werth might be treated every where in his kingdom with the greatest distinction. To the General's surprise therefore he found himself received by the public

authorities at all the great towns through which he passed with a compliment of welcome as a friend, and not with any of the misgiving of an alien foe, but rather with the attentions that a native hero, who had been so renowned and dreaded for his brilliant achievements, would have received at the hands of his own countrymen. The entire population in the French provinces thronged every where to look at the redoubtable De Werth; and on his arrival at the capital, although he was at first taken to the Castle of Vincennes, he found there a magnificent suite of apartments prepared for him with royal munificence. Here he daily received the most distinguished persons of the capital, both male and female, who waited upon him. After a few weeks he received permission from the King to go to Paris on his parole; and this was seized upon as an occasion for a series of fêtes that were given to the distinguished prisoner, at which even the Princes of the blood assisted. Music was impressed into his honour, and an *air de trompette* was called John Vert's March. His name became the refrain of many songs; one of which ran thus,

> "Le redoubtable Jean De Werth
> Qui lors les avait pris sans vert."

Cardinal Richelieu himself received him at the Chateau de Conflans, at which the Duke of Orleans, the brother of the King, did the honours; and indeed nothing was omitted by the pleased French people that could render the period of restraint as agreeable as possible. At length in 1642, after four years of this "esclavage dorée," an exchange was agreed upon between De Werth and the Swedish General Horn, and the Bavarian General repaired to Munich and Vienna, where he was immediately appointed by Ferdinand General of the Imperial cavalry. Great exertions were in the mean time made to give him the command of a separate army, but in his own impatience for service he

offered for a time to take a charge of cavalry in the army of General Hatzfeld in the vicinity of Cologne. Here therefore he appeared in the summer of 1642, and the citizens on his arrival among them embraced his knees as a deliverer. The whole of the ecclesiastical electorates had been so overrun by the Swedish, French, and other adversaries, in consequence of the withdrawal of Hatzfeld, that the natives were delighted to see De Werth arrive to oppose Guebriant, which he did so speedily and so well, that in a successful raid and ambush he was enabled to carry off many French prisoners and much booty.

Defeats the French at Tuttlingen. Death of Guebriant.

In 1643 Mercy came up to the Rhine with a considerable Bavarian army, and he was shortly joined by an Imperial army under the Prince of Lorraine. Guebriant's army was in consequence colleagued with a body of troops under the command of the Count de Rantzau, the handsome and gallant favourite of Anne of Austria, which Queen had become, by the death of Louis XIII. in the same year, Regent of France. On the 7th November Guebriant at the head of this French army sat down before Rothveil, which on the 17th was either taken by storm or by treachery, and where the French general was mortally wounded. The command accordingly devolved on De Rantzau, who, with 18,000 men, encamped in and about Tuttlingen, having the advanced guard at some distance westward across the Danube. De Werth therefore, who was a master in every species of outpost enterprise, thought the opportunity favourable to attempt a surprise on the scattered cantonments of the French[1], and accordingly

[1] It is an admitted fact that the French are especially victimized by an attack in winter-quarters. It is altogether a tradition with the French military, that summer is the only gentlemanly time of action; and they require all the recreations of a great capital to endure the privations of winter as well in a camp as elsewhere. An enterprising enemy will always take advantage of this natural characteristic.

on the 23rd November, in the middle of the night, he marched with twenty-four regiments of cavalry quite unperceived through the woods to Möskerk. The ways were so bad that it was three in the morning before they reached Neuhausen, where they cried a halt for rest and refreshment. De Werth, however, having satisfied himself that they had got so far unperceived, was unwilling to lose the advantage of a heavy fall of snow which happened at this juncture, and which darkened the whole horizon. Accordingly he in person pushed forward with a few Croats, and reached a chapel, under cover of which were parked the Weimar artillery. These guns they immediately seized; and before any alarm could be given to the rest of the army, the advanced guard, led by the intrepid De Werth, had completely surrounded Tuttlingen. In the mean time Hatzfeld came up with his infantry and fell with all the force he could upon the town, and immediately cut off all connexion with the rest of the camp. The Confederate cavalry endeavoured to form, but were speedily overwhelmed by De Werth and Hatzfeld near Nöringen, where seven French regiments of infantry made a stand, but they were vanquished without firing a shot, and forced to lay down their arms. Before day broke the entire Confederate army were obliged to come to terms, and De Rantzau himself[2], with 5 generals, 12 staff officers, and 7000 men, the whole of the artillery and 80 standards, were captured; 4000 men were killed on the field. Marshal Guebriant, who had been severely wounded at the siege of Rothveil, expired in the French head-quarters the evening before the disaster. Taupadel, who lay sick in the same town, contrived to escape, but his regiment

[2] Marshal de Rantzau died in 1650, having lost in the course of his service, through the bravery of his character, one eye, one leg, one arm, and one ear! No wonder he was the favourite of a Queen, since there are very few women who can resist the captivation of a suitor who has lost only a single arm.

was almost destroyed by the enraged peasantry. This unfortunate day was regarded as a slur unparalleled in the whole war upon the arms of France, whose soldiers were thought by the Germans their allies, as well as those who were her opponents, to have disgraced themselves by the careless ease in which they had been surprised. The defeat of the French at this moment was also calculated to prove highly disastrous to Sweden, because the whole power of the Emperor, now that there was no French army in the field, could be directed against them. Field-Marshal Caspar Von Mercy, a Bavarian general of renown, shared with Hatzfeld and De Werth the glory of the surprise of Tuttlingen, and was in consequence appointed to the command of the army that was sent across the Rhine against Turenne and Condé, De Werth remaining under him in command of the whole Imperial cavalry. This success was considered to have been mainly owing to the activity, energy, and resolution of Johann de Werth.

Turenne defeated by Mercy, who is afterwards killed at Attenheim. De Werth superseded by Geleen.

Mercy, a capable and daring general, aware of the inferiority of his army opposed by the union of the great French leaders, posted himself at a short distance from the town of Freiburg on the Brisgau, in a position almost inaccessible from nature, and garnished by all the resources of art with abattis, trous de loup, and épaulements. In the terrible action that ensued in the summer of 1644 for the relief of the place, and which lasted three days, De Werth took a considerable part with his proper arm, that of cavalry, but often nevertheless affording valuable assistance on foot. Freiburg fell to Mercy's good fortune after a brilliant campaign from Turenne, who, when Condé had come up, attacked the Imperialists before the fortress on the 4th of August, 1644. He and Condé, however, disagreed as to the plan of attack, and all the impetuous valour of the French was exerted in vain against the steady firmness of the Germans, and they were compelled to retreat with the loss of 6000 men. Mercy, however, was too

much enfeebled by the victory to make head against the conquered; but John de Werth took Manheim and Hochst on the Maine by surprise. The campaign of 1645, however, opened under more auspicious circumstances. Turenne was surprised by Mercy in Marienthal near Mergentheim on May 2nd, and obliged to retreat towards Hesse with the loss of half his army, and a great portion of his cannon and baggage. Condé was immediately sent down by the King, and at length arrived to the assistance of Turenne, and engaged Mercy again on the 3rd August at Allersheim, or Nordlingen, where the Imperialist General was struck dead by a cannon-ball in the midst of the action, and the command devolved on Johann de Werth, who carried off the army in safety, defeated but not broken, towards Donauwerth. This battle was in fact gained and lost by both sides. Condé in person headed the royal troops of France and routed the Bavarians; but the French on the right were routed, and the reserve dispirited, until Turenne captured the guns and turned them upon the hitherto victorious Imperialists; and on the fourth day of the engagement Geleen was taken prisoner on the side of the Bavarians, and Grammont on the side of the French; but these two generals were exchanged after the action, and returned to their respective armies.

De Werth is deprived of his command.

But now an event occurred which greatly affected Johann de Werth's position and employment. For the first time for twenty-eight years, Maximilian of Bavaria, the friend of the youth and the school companion of Ferdinand II. at Ingoldstadt, and who had stood at Prague by the side of the Empire at the beginning of the great contest, now, Elector as he had become, began to waver. The intrigues of French diplomacy had succeeded in detaching him from the Austrian alliance; and in March, 1647, he concluded a treaty at Ulm, by which he declared himself neuter as to the great German War. Most of the officers of the Bavarian

army were offended by this step of their master, which imposed a burden and some restraint on their restlessness and cupidity. The brave Johann de Werth was at the head of these malcontents, and formed a plot to seduce the whole Bavarian army from their allegiance, and to lead it over to the Emperor, who did not blush to patronize this act of perfidy. Writhing impatiently under the wound in his side of the neutrality of Bavaria, Ferdinand even formally issued a proclamation to the troops of the Palatine Duchies, recalling them to his service, and reminding them that they were troops of the Empire, and could only serve in the name of the Emperor. Maximilian, however, had the good fortune to be awakened to what was going on in time to anticipate and prevent this unjustifiable proceeding against his sovereignty, and immediately adopted the most energetic and decisive measures in the matter. He at once bestowed the command of his army upon Geleen in the place of Johann de Werth, who thereupon forthwith transferred his sword to the Emperor. But in his attempt to carry with him the Bavarian officers and soldiers he was abandoned in the very act by the troops themselves, and narrowly escaped Wallenstein's fate. A price of 10,000 thalers was placed on his head by Maximilian, and all his possessions in Bavaria were at the Elector's command destroyed by fire.

De Werth is reinstated: serves under Piccolomini.

In July, 1647, Ferdinand III. took the command of the Imperial army in person, accompanied by Melander and Johann de Werth. Wrangel commanded the Protestant Confederate force, and was returning in the spring of the same year to Franconia, where he had taken Schwinfurt, when he was compelled to retreat before the Emperor, and throw himself into Hesse, in which duchy he fixed his winter-quarters. Here he was joined by a Swedish army under Kœnigsmark, and a French army under Turenne, which rendered the Confederates formidable. The Emperor, therefore, as soon as he heard of the junction of the Swedes and

French, hastened to cross the Danube, but his opponents followed and overtook the Austrian rearguard at Susmershausen. The Imperialists were defeated and broken, and Melandor was killed. De Werth, however, soon afterwards surprised Wrangel at Dachau, and at the head of 2000 cavalry drove the enemy before him towards Munich, where he joined Piccolomini, whom, in his extremity, the Emperor had now reinstated in the command of his universally disaffected troops, and De Werth again took the command of the Imperial cavalry under him.

His death.

The Peace of Westphalia closed the career of most of the generals who had been the leaders of armies during the Thirty Years' War; and De Werth, like all who had had a considerable share in the conflict, retired into private life to a domain which had been given him as a reward for his distinguished services, and rich with booty. He had lost his first wife in the interval, and now married the Countess Kuffstein; but he had no children by either consort. He eventually took up his abode on his estate; but where it lay, or where he died, or where he was buried, is not known. The date of his death is stated to have been, 6th September, 1652.

His character.

Johann de Werth is regarded as a warrior of a rather singular character, but was certainly the most renowned general of cavalry in his age. His exploits and enterprises as an outpost officer gained him an immense reputation both in France and Germany; and his fame survived him for many years in the common poetry and songs of both lands. For what reason he was never employed in the chief command of the Imperial armies is not stated, but it could scarcely be owing to any unfitness in his profession, and it has been thought that in hyper-aristocratic Germany it must have been mainly owing to his obscure origin. His military qualities of forethought, watchfulness, and energy, were of the very first order; but he may have been deficient in judgment, or in habits of business, or in tact, or in some of

those many attributes which seem to designate men for supreme command. To his honour it may be said, that, whatever may have been his birth and origin, he was loyal and faithful in his allegiance to the cause of the Emperor to the very last, and yet was too independent to be his tool in any disgraceful act, or his creature in any military achievements; and this was no small merit in the times of the Thirty Years' War. The operations assigned to his execution were almost always successful, but may have partaken more of the dash of a partisan, than of the strategy or tactics of a general. Nevertheless, Johann de Werth is considered by Schiller "to have been the most remarkable warrior of the seventeenth century, and as the most formidable leader on the side of the League."

The qualities of what Frederick the Great called *La petite guerre* have always found a characteristic leader like Johann de Werth in every great war. Perhaps the Germans as a people are more apt for the service than any other nation, because the habits of the sportsmen and smugglers of the great mountain passes afford the best school for it. This science is often misapprehended as applying to light-infantry movements, which is a branch of tactics, and perfectly distinct from outpost practice; whereas the business of cavalry outposts is really a distinct science, that influences every movement of a great army. Surprises and alarms, demonstrations and alert movements on the flanks or communications of an enemy, the prying into all his secrets, both by personal observation and acquired information,—these are, all of them, indispensable duties of an army in the field, which can alone be executed by cavalry under the guidance of enterprising, dashing officers [3].

[3] Kriegs-Kunst-Lexikon; Harte; Schiller; Menzel; De Peyster; Biographie Universelle.

GUSTAVUS HORN,

A SWEDISH FIELD-MARSHAL.

Born 1592. Died 1657.

His birth, and earliest service under Gustavus Adolphus.

No record appears to exist as to the birth-place of this Swedish hero, though he was one of the most distinguished of those who shared in the exploits of the great Gustavus Adolphus. A family of the name has been found in the populous province of Sudermania, which gave birth to one or two distinguished Swedish characters, and it has been assumed that they were all of the same family as that of our subject. There is a general consent that the year of Gustaf Horn's birth was 1592, and it is believed that at the age of sixteen he was sent into Germany to complete his education, after which he returned to Sweden and entered the royal army. It has been said that he made his first campaign against the Russians under De la Gardie; but about the time when young Horn was of an age to undertake a campaign, Charles IX. of

Sweden went to war with Christian IV. of Denmark, and Prince Gustavus Adolphus, about two years Horn's senior, made his first campaign in 1611; so that there is good reason to think that both commenced their friendship and their first service together as comrades in the Danish war: although it is true General Jacob De la Gardie did command a Swedish army about the time named, in which he had obtained considerable success against the Poles and Muscovites, and might have been Horn's instructor. Be that as it may, Gustavus Adolphus came to the throne at the end of the same year; and although young Horn is not heard of for some years, he is said to have made extensive travels for his pleasure and instruction in Holland, France, and Italy, in this interval. In 1619 he suddenly comes into story again as the personal friend and companion of Gustavus Adolphus, in a most delicate and somewhat chivalrous expedition. The King having heard Princess Eleonora, daughter of Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, most highly praised for her beauty, determined to get a sight of her *incognito*, and, accordingly, in the summer of 1620, he passed in disguise into Germany, under the assumed name of Monsieur Gars, attended only by his friend Gustavus Horn and some domestics. He saw his love at Berlin, when she was in the twentieth year of her age, and the royal youth fell straightway in love with her. George William, her brother, had just succeeded to the Electorate, and may have interposed some difficulties in the way of the alliance, or the enterprising young King may have been impatient to get possession of the lady, but there is certainly an idea that the young lady eloped from the Electoral palace, probably with the aid of Gustavus Horn, and that the King carried her across the Baltic, and introduced his young queen to his subjects with great glee; for the solemnization of his nuptials was celebrated

with extraordinary pomp at Stockholm, on 25th November the same year.

Is wounded at the siege of Riga.

It is most probable that by this time Gustavus Horn may have pretty well established his fortune with his sovereign, since he is named with Baner and Oxenstierna as officers of the King's staff, on his expedition against Poland in 1621. The expression is, that these officers "served in his own quarter with 6000 foot and 800 horse," so that it is probable that he now served as one of the superior officers of the royal body-guard. The siege of Riga was the great event of the campaign, and as it proceeded the King one night ordered his young military favourites, Horn and Baner, to storm the sand-ravelin at the head of 3000 picked men. The assault was repulsed by the superior force of the defenders, and both the young leaders were wounded; but His Majesty, to comfort them, sent to both of them the same evening the order of knighthood.

Is made a Senator.

The truce between Sweden and Poland having expired in 1625, the King carried Gustavus Horn with him when he sailed for Livonia in the beginning of April of that year. Here Leo Sapieha encountered the Swedes in a pitched battle at Semigallia, a province of Courland, in which Horn commanded the left wing of the army. The action was sharp, but soon ended in favour of the Swedes. The name of Horn does not appear in the campaigns of Gustavus in Brandenburg, in 1626-9; but it is most probable that he continued to serve in the royal body-guard, because it is recorded that "the King paid a very gallant compliment to three of his followers, in that he made Horn, Baner, and Todt, all Senators." It is most probable that Gustavus Horn and Baner, now holding such high civil dignity, were both commissioned by the King of Sweden to negotiate with the French Ambassador, M. de Charnacé, in August,

that treaty with Poland, which left Gustavus Adolphus at liberty to go on his great expedition into Germany, by freeing him from any further anxieties from the side of Poland and Russia.

Appointed to hold the Swedish camp at Stettin.

There is no doubt that Gustavus Horn landed at Usedom, with the King's army, in June 1630. One of the first steps of Gustavus Adolphus was to obtain possession of Pomerania: accordingly, eluding the vigilance of Torquato di Conti, who commanded in those parts for the Emperor, he obtained by great tact and boldness admission into Stettin, the capital of that Duchy, where the Swedish army at once established their base of operations. Here, under the walls of the town, he formed a general camp in August, which he committed to the conduct of Gustavus Horn, while His Majesty himself marched away to the conquest of Mecklenburg, partly with a view of receiving that Duchy for his kinsmen the deposed Dukes,—partly to satisfy an old grudge against Wallenstein, who had insulted him,—and partly to get possession of the entire shore of the Baltic for the supply of his army. It is singular that with such considerable objects in view, the Imperialists did not avail themselves of the opportunity of the King's absence, and the division of the Swedish forces, to crush Gustavus Horn in his camp at Stettin. In truth, Torquato di Conti did attack the intrenchments once during the King's absence, but was repulsed with considerable loss.

Colbergen is blockaded.

While the King rested at Stralsund, on his return to Stettin, he gave orders that Kniphausen should be sent with a detachment from the army to push on vigorously the blockade of Colbergen, where Torquato di Conti had formed a magazine of wealth and plunder, and which was but slightly garrisoned. Bauditzen was at the same time ordered to watch all the approaches to that place with a force that was perhaps scarcely equal to such a duty; ac-

cordingly, Ernest de Montecucculi (uncle of the celebrated Raymond) was despatched by Torquato with 10,000 men, to raise the blockade. This intention became known to Horn, who immediately advertised Kniphausen of it, and sent a reinforcement from the Swedish main camp sufficient to raise the effective force of the Swedes to 11,000 of all arms.

Horn takes Colbergen.

The task of reducing Colbergen was subsequently transferred to Gustavus Horn, who converted the blockade into a regular siege. At the same time, however, he so effectively watched the fortress that he intercepted a convoy of 180 waggons, laden with provisions, that was coming into the place; and, by thus rendering the garrison desperate, obliged the governor to conclude a capitulation on 2nd March, 1631: but, to His Excellency's intense mortification, four Imperial ships arrived in the offing the day after the articles were signed. Yet the fortress had occupied three years in fortifying, and was regarded by the Imperialists as a place pretty nearly impregnable. Horn was enabled to induce some 400 of the garrison to accept the Swedish service, but experienced some trouble from Count St. Julian, the governor, who resented their being enlisted, and would not at first give them up to him. After the capture the rest of the garrison were marched away, but had the ill-luck to be arrested by order of the King, at Friedberg, in retaliation for the slaughter committed at Magdeburg by Tilly.

Horn besieges Greifenhagen. Anecdote of Gustavus.

Horn was then sent to besiege Greifenhagen. The winter was unusually severe, but the King set the example himself, and expected from all under him the same indifference to work, in the trenches or out of them, when it was in his judgment necessary. During the main stress of this work, His Majesty was told that some captain had set a bad example by complaining of the severity of the season, and the hardship and servility of the employment. The officer was sent for to the King's tent. "My good friend," said Gustavus, "the

earth is always as frozen to those who lack industry. It is always ridiculous in a commander to postpone till to-morrow what ought to be done now—nor, indeed, can any object that has been once undertaken be pursued too eagerly. It is only by persevering alacrity that any thing great or shining can be performed. Indolence is as bad a quality as fear in the conduct of a soldier."

The vigorous energy of the school of Gustavus Adolphus completely knocked up old Torquato de Conti; and feeling himself unequal to contend with the Swedish youth, who set climate and danger equally at defiance, and left him not a moment's quiet, the old man besought the Emperor that he might be superseded, and added in his letter to Tilly which covered the request, "an ego solus omnibus sufficere possim, tua Excellentia judicet." This sort of characters are common in every army. He afterwards took military service under the Pope, which better suited his years, and so he died with a comfortable *viaticum*.

Horn blockades Landsberg.

In the first days of 1631 Greifenhagen surrendered, and the King cast his eyes on the fortress of Landsberg, a strong town situated on the Warta, and he sent Horn to besiege it, as it was full of provisions, ammunition, and artillery; but on his report that the garrison had been considerably increased by fugitives from other places, Gustavus resolved to blockade it with both horse and foot, which he committed to Horn's command; while he himself went to take Kœnigsberg and other places, which gave him the entire command of the whole country between the Warta and the Oder, with the exception alone of Landsberg. The winter continued extremely severe, and although "the King of Snow" revelled in the idea that he and his army were superior to their adversaries in enduring its rigour, Gustavus was too merciful towards his soldiers to expose them to it unnecessarily by keeping them bivouacked about Landsberg; so that he raised the

blockade of it, and sent Horn to occupy Kœnigsberg, which had surrendered to his arms, in order to observe from thence the motions of the Imperial army under Tilly. As soon, however, as this latter appeared at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, the King recalled Horn, and again posted him with his army in the Neumark, to keep a vigilant eye on the motions of the Imperialists.

Treaty of Bernwalt.

Gustavus Adolphus was, however, as industrious in the cabinet as in the field, and, being desirous of extending the number of his reliable friends in Germany, he opened negotiations with the Sovereign Princes of Bremen, Luneburg, and Hesse Cassel; and included them in the treaty which had been already opened at the instigation of De Charnacé, the French Ambassador, and which Horn and Baner, who had been previously employed in that treaty, were now summoned from their commands to attend at the King's camp, at Bernwalt, or Beerwald, in the Marquisate of Brandenburg, to conclude in due form. The plenipotentiaries, in putting their hands and seals to this alliance, decided in truth the Swedish cause in Germany.

Capture of Frankfort and Landsberg.

The King, in expectation of an attack from Tilly, placed his army so as best to cover the extensive conquests he had now acquired. Gustavus, in eight months, had rendered himself master of eighty cities, castles, and fortresses, in Pomerania and Mecklenburg, and it required good strategy to protect them from Tilly's army. He accordingly placed Baner at Demmin, Kniphausen at New Brandenburg, and established the royal or head-quarters between Angermond and Freyenwald. To Horn was committed the defence of the pass of Passevalle, in order to guard the passage of the Oder upon either Stettin or Frankfort, and to watch the approaches into Pomerania. A famous bridge, 180 feet long and of width sufficient for five horsemen to march abreast, had been constructed in the rear, under the eye of Torstenson, who well understood that most important branch of engineering which enables

a general to set at nought the otherwise insuperable barriers of rivers. No regular pontoon corps had, in truth, as yet been attached to the Swedish army; but the Finlanders, whose national characteristic was mechanics, were specially constituted the bridge-wrights of the royal army, and were admirable in the performance of the duties assigned to them. Horn himself overlooked the laying of this bridge at Schwet on 18th March; the immediate effect of which operation was, to induce Tilly to fall back to Rappen, which left Frankfort open to the King, who immediately sat down before it to besiege it on 25th March. Closing up his army for its investment, he sent Horn to watch the Imperialists on the side of Silesia. The place surrendered on 2nd April, and Gustavus the same day sent 4000 men, under Horn, towards Landsberg, whom, as he now heard that Tilly had marched away to Magdeburg, he followed with his own army, and ordered it to be forthwith invested. Twelve pieces of battering-cannon, under Torstenson, attended the march, with a small bridge-train (not the one hereinbefore mentioned), in order to complete the circle across the river Warta. This unexpected accompaniment to an army in those days had a wonderful moral effect upon the garrison, so that when Horn despatched Monro and Dewbattel, with 1000 musketeers, against a strong fort mounted with cannon that lay betwixt the besiegers and the town, it surrendered at once by capitulation. The governor was afterwards killed in a sally, so that after eight days' siege, Landsberg, the town most coveted by the King, fell into his hands. His Majesty had, as was his custom, himself overlooked all the work in the trenches,—an example which was of course followed by Horn, Baner, Bauditzen, and all the other Generals; so that it was observed that Gustavus induced his soldiers to perform for nothing what would cost another power a ton of gold. It was rare in the great King to sanction a debauch at any

time; nevertheless, upon the capture of Landsberg, he ordered his officers to take "a cheerful glass," although he did not honour them by sharing it with them.

Horn was next directed to proceed to Berlin, on a mission for obtaining from the Elector the permission to occupy with Swedish troops the important fortresses of Custrin and Spandau, and likewise to obtain subsistence and one month's pay for the army. He was commissioned to make the royal promise that the King would re-deliver those places as soon as the siege of Magdeburg should be raised. Horn, who it will be remembered was well known to George William's family at the period of the King's courtship, was authorized to offer to His Electoral Highness the reversion of the Dukedom of Pomerania, a possession which it was well understood that he ardently coveted. This Prince was, however, remarkably shy in entering into any engagement without the concurrence of his brother Elector of Saxony; and all that Horn could accomplish was to arrange that the royal brothers-in-law should have an interview at Königs-grotte, about a mile from the capital city of Berlin, to arrange their own affairs together.

Death of Horn's wife in the camp.

When Gustavus obtained possession of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, the Imperial garrison (which was in fact a little army of 7000 men under Schomberg) marched away towards Silesia. The King therefore now sent Horn to watch this force. Our hero had married the virtuous and beautiful daughter of the Chancellor, Christina Oxenstierna, who had thought it her duty to attend her husband in all his wars, and was now with him in his camp. They were a shining example of reciprocal conjugal happiness and fidelity. A pestilential fever, however, broke out at this time among the Swedes, and Christina caught it and breathed her last in the arms of her disconsolate consort, who had the good fortune to escape the contagion himself. He was completely prostrated by this calamity, and ordered the

body to be enshrined in a silver coffin, and to be buried in a marble sarcophagus in Sweden; but although no more than forty years of age, rich, esteemed, accomplished, and of a fine and soldier-like exterior, he never could do such injury to the devotion he felt for this beloved wife, as to venture on a second marriage to the day of his death. Considerate as the King always was towards those about him, yet the duties of his high service could not be interrupted by the private sorrows of his Generals, and poor Horn was obliged to pack up his griefs in his valise, as a soldier on service must ever do. He therefore went forward with his army to obey his orders.

Battle of Breitenfeld.

Feeling secure as to his conquests in his rear, which Horn was instructed to protect, as well as to establish a regency in those parts, Gustavus threw a bridge of boats across the Elbe, and, having stormed the town of Tangermund sword in hand, took up an intrenched camp at Werben, at the confluence of the Elbe and Havel. Here the King continued on the defence against Tilly, who attacked him more than once, but without success, during the months of June, July, and August, 1631, while Horn remained on the watch against the Imperialists in Silesia; but in the first days of September he received the King's commands to repair to him immediately with all his forces at the rendezvous within sixteen miles of Wittenberg; whither having hastened with all expedition he arrived in time to command the left wing of the Swedish army at Breitenfeld, near Leipzig, the scene of many battles in history, and known in consequence as *God's-acre*. Horn passed the night before the battle with Baner and Teufel in the King's coach, discoursing about the acts of the morrow.

Horn's distinguished generalship.

It was in this battle, fought 7th September, 1631, that Gustavus put in practice one of the fine inventions for which he is renowned, but which, of course, has lost the merit of any distinction at this time of day, when

it is commonly practised: this was, to intermix infantry with his horse in all his movements. The contrary practice in Tilly's army in this very battle occasioned his defeat, for the Imperial infantry was sent forward while the cavalry remained stationary, having received no orders to support it. This tactic afterwards obtained the popular name of "the Leipzig brigade of Gustavus." The idea was great and new at this time, and required to be made clear and intelligible to his lieutenants who were to carry it into practice, which was the cause of His Majesty's summoning them to the consultation above spoken of in his carriage. It was the custom of war with former generals, as with Tilly in this battle, to draw up the force under their command in huge square bodies, called *tertias*, a very unwieldy mass of troops, in which officers could not move from their places, nor reduce their men into order if once thrown out of their first formation, and these comprised infantry and cavalry indiscriminately, but often at considerable distances apart. Horn very much assisted in carrying out the new formation, in his place on the left of the Swedish army, which brought him into conjunction with the right of the Saxon army at this battle, whom the Imperial General, the Count de Furstenberg, attacked, and after a short conflict routed and utterly dispersed. Tilly, meeting the Imperialists in hot pursuit, rode up to them, saying, "Turn back, comrades; let us beat the Swedes likewise, and the Empire is our own." Furstenberg and Cronenberg accordingly stopped the cavalry which they respectively commanded in their full career, and fell with their united force upon Horn, who commanded those veteran bands of infantry which were now intermingled with horse of equal discipline and experience. Horn, making such evolutions as the occasion demanded, received the shock so bravely as to delight Gustavus, who beheld the conflict with unusual anxiety, and who always acknowledged that he was indebted to Horn for the victory of that day. The attack upon the left

wing being thus repelled, the King ordered the centre to attack, while he sent up Hepburn with his Scots, and Vitzdum with a Saxon half-regiment, to reinforce Horn. It was when acting under Horn's command at this time that the Scottish regiments in Hepburn's brigade first practised firing by platoons, which amazed their antagonists to such a degree that the Spanish Walloon infantry, which stood over against them, and who had hitherto been deemed invincible, "hardly knew how to conduct themselves." The battle lasted from noon to six, when Cronenberg, finding the Walloons reduced to 600 men, marched them off the field. Seven thousand of the Imperialists were left dead on the field, and 3000 were taken prisoners in the battle. As soon as Tilly commenced his retreat, which was about dusk, Gustavus pushed forward his whole army as far as Merseburg, a distance of eight and thirty miles. The King on his return took possession of the Imperial camp, which had been left standing, and here publicly passed his encomiums on the Swedish and Finland horse, and on Hepburn's Scottish infantry, and openly and especially commended Gustavus Horn.

Horn at Bamberg.

Gustavus followed up the battle of Breitenfeld by carrying his whole army, which was five or six and twenty thousand strong, into Franconia. Here, while he occupied himself with the siege and capture of Wurzburg, he sent Horn to take Gotha, which he did on the 29th, and frightened all the Imperial detachments out of Eisenach. In November, when the main army advanced to the Rhine, Horn was detached with a small army to reduce the diocese of Bamberg, when he placed the Swedish flag on the walls of Kitzingen, Windsheim, Gebsatel, Mergentheim, and Rotenberg. Horn then marched down into Suabia, besieged and took Heilbrunn; but towards the end of the year he returned again to Franconia, when he took the town of Bamberg by composition, in which he lodged a sufficient force for its defence; but his officers and

soldiers indulged too much in the pleasures of a rich and plentiful city, and in this Capua our hero fell into the saddest disgrace of his whole military career.

Is driven out of Bamberg by Tilly, and reprimanded by Gustavus.

Impatient to revenge himself for the defeat he had suffered at Breitenfeld, Tilly importuned the Elector Maximilian, whom he served, to be permitted to attack the Swedes wherever he might find them; but the cause of the League had been so much injured by the disaster near Leipzig, that it was deemed too dangerous to trust the cause to the hazard of another battle; and accordingly the Swedish army was allowed to pursue its own designs on the frontiers of Germany and France with little let or hindrance. Tilly, however, had occupied himself in the province of Westphalia in collecting together the remains of his own and other Imperial armies, and, with recruits to the cause of the League, had mustered an army of 16,000 men. The Bishop of Bamberg, who had been driven from his capital by Horn, urgently demanded the assistance of the Bavarian Elector, who was at length persuaded to place a limit to Tilly's useless inactivity. Empowered by his master's orders to restore the Bishop to his possessions, the Imperial General collected his troops, and a conspiracy was at the same time formed by the inhabitants of the city to drive Horn out of Bamberg. The Swedish army had indeed been quartered in an intrenched camp that had been taken up outside the walls of the city, but part of them still occupied Bamberg itself, which was not surrounded by walls, and has been named in consequence "the largest village in Germany." The Bishop in person attended the Catholic army, and made no secret that he would clothe himself in armour like a common cavalier to recover his cathedral. At the point of time agreed upon, one general insurrection broke out against the Swedes. Horn, on hearing the noise of muskets within the town, rushed immediately from the camp at the head of a regiment to inquire into the cause, and encountered the advanced guard of Tilly's

army, who had advanced into the town by a concerted approach. Horn in consequence rode back to the camp for reinforcements, but the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment he left behind, mistaking his orders, marched away into the open country, and fell into an ambuscade which the Imperialists had laid for him when Horn returned. The gates of the town had, in the panic and confusion, been delivered over to the enemy, when having now no resource but to retire, Horn endeavoured to secure the bridge over the Maine, a short distance from the city, which stands on the Rednitz. In the endeavour to do so, he was followed so closely by the enemy, that it was not without much difficulty that he was able to maintain the *tête-de-pont* that protected it. Tilly, whose experience led him to appreciate the value of the possession sent off at a gallop the flower of his cavalry to obtain it; but Horn succeeded in barricading one portion of the bridge, and in blowing up another, so that he could hold it for a time, in which interval he embarked his baggage, artillery, and ammunition, and despatched them safely down the river. Towards evening, however, the Imperialists brought up two pieces of cannon, and Horn, having saved his *matériel*, determined to retire, which he did by crossing the river and destroying the bridges behind him. He then succeeded in imposing that respect upon his adversary which was still necessary to check pursuit; Tilly became sensible that Horn was only retiring, and by no means flying from his opponents, and while he held his hand the latter reached Geltersheim. From this place he addressed a very sensible report to the King, relating in simple language the whole transaction. He reminded His Majesty that he had been already apprised by him that Bamberg was a naked town of such vast extent as to be in noways defensible; and that he had been disappointed of the reinforcements which he had been led to expect that he might receive from Duke William of Weimar. He then gave an ample, truthful narrative

of the whole transaction. Gustavus was too old a soldier to be indisposed to overlook an occasional misfortune in those he valued, while he saw in the safe and orderly retreat of the army, and in the preservation of its *matériel*, great proofs of military genius; he therefore wrote to assure his Lieutenant of his undiminished favour, and called the disgrace that had befallen his arms "a mere *cascade;*" but he told him frankly that it was the first disaster that had befallen the Swedish army since their arrival in Germany; and he further admonished him to be more on the alert for the future, and more vigilant in securing the best intelligence of the traces of an enemy at any time opposed to him. It had been a well-known maxim of Gustavus Adolphus, "that there are few advantages we can better spare than good spies, and that the most skilful general must fail in his best concerted enterprises if he neglects to avail himself of all the expedients of acquiring information that are afforded him in the country in which he makes war. The inhabitants are for the most part ready to tell all they know, and although they may not always be relied upon, and may very often be dull and stupid in their way of relating what they do know, yet their knowledge of the country can not only elucidate the enemy's whereabout, but they can tell of the secret bearings and turnings of roads and rivers, which may be favourable for stratagems and marches; and these are means to an end which are often more effectual than open force, and much less costly than the sacrifice of soldiers, whose lives a good general will always husband to the greatest degree, while the genius and talents of a leader are never more signalized than by employing the most humble expedients that are always within a man's power." It is just to record of our hero, that the people of Bamberg always did him ample justice for his conduct during his short government of their country, and even the bigoted clergy of the Episcopate

called him "merciful," *quamvis hereticæ superstitionis cultor.* It was his great characteristic, that he was an exact disciplinarian; and Gustavus Horn was as great a lover of good order and religion as the great Gustavus Adolphus himself.

Horn vainly tries to dissuade the King from crossing the Lech.

The effect with which Tilly had retaken the field recalled the King into Franconia; when in spite of the weather the Swedish army broke up from Frankfort on the 4th (three days after Horn's defeat), and on the 16th united itself at Windsheim with the two corps d'armées of Horn and Baner, so that the King's combined army now numbered 30,000 effective soldiers. Tilly was not now far removed from the King, but was too weak to encounter an army so superior in every respect to that under his command; and the Imperialists accordingly retreated by forced marches down the valley of the Altmuhl and across the Danube; when, in order to protect his Bavarian master's Electorate, Tilly took up a very strong position behind the Lech, which he forthwith strengthened by every conceivable means. Horn was the foremost of the Swedish Generals, and their spokesman in the endeavour to divert Gustavus from attempting to force Tilly out of this position. The King had some misgivings himself about the prudence of the step, and therefore listened to the man he was wont to call "his right hand" with some favour. Horn, who was known to be at once the most ready of them all to execute, while he was the most cautious to resolve on any rash action, urged the difficulties attending the passage of such a river as the Lech at this particular season, when freshets from the mountains were of ordinary occurrence; and represented to His Majesty the disadvantage of any check that might bring up Wallenstein on the King's back. He accordingly proposed to the King to march down the valley of the Danube into Moravia. Gustavus Adolphus loved Horn, whose great talents and proved integrity he highly honoured, and heard him patiently, but sheltered him-

self behind the maxim, that "it was possible to execute many achievements in war precisely because the generality of men supposed them impracticable," and adhered to his own scheme with a high persuasion of success. The truth is, that in the operation of passing the Lech the King brought two matters to bear which his ordinary Lieutenants had not yet learned to value: the immense effect of his improved gunnery, and the power by means of pontoons or tressels to pass the most rapid rivers. As it was, however, the passage cost six hours of hard fighting, and was mainly won by the King's energy and the comparative celerity of the operation. His Majesty told his Generals, when they crowded around him after the day was won, "that he considered the passage of the Lech as a better day's service than his victory at Leipzig."

Capture of Ratisbon and Landshut.

Gustavus despatched Horn in pursuit of the Elector after his defeat, who, in accordance with the dying advice of Tilly, had thrown himself into Ratisbon; and the Swedish General, having run him there to ground, rejoined the King at the siege of Augsburg. Here he found the Swedish army pounding at this ancient and interesting city, in which the cathedral, the town-houses, and other public buildings are magnificent structures. The King was grieved to see the havoc that Torstenson's guns were making among these fine edifices, and accordingly, Horn, who had an intimate acquaintance with Colonel Breda, the governor, offered to become himself the mediator between His Majesty and the garrison. An accommodation was in consequence effected on the 10th April, when Gustavus Adolphus, with great pomp and circumstance, and surrounded by all his Generals, made a triumphant entrance into this city, that was, so to speak, the birthplace of the Protestant religion in 1550. The next place that attracted the cupidity of the Swedish Monarch was Ingoldstadt; but while he sat down before that fortress, he sent Horn to penetrate again into Bavaria, for the

Elector had made an irruption into the Upper Palatinate, in order to cause a diversion in favour of his own dominions. Horn, accordingly, at the head of 8000 horse and foot, sat down before Landshut, situated on the Iser, and was here joined by the King on the 29th April, when, getting possession of it, he laid a sharp contribution of £15,000 on the inhabitants.

Horn takes Strasburg, and defeats the Imperialists at Wisloch.

For reasons which have not been stated, the King at this time recalled Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar from the Electorate of Mayence, where he had been left when His Majesty marched back to the Danube; and Gustavus Horn was now ordered to replace that Prince, and he assumed the command of the detachment at Frankfort-on-the-Maine on the 11th May. In consequence of a treaty which the Elector of Treves had made with Louis XIII., the strong fortress of Ehrenbreitstein had been given up to the French, very much to the displeasure of Gustavus, and he accordingly strengthened Horn's hands with a force of 14,000 men, in order to disperse the French, Spaniards, and other Imperialists, who now appeared to lord it over the Rhenish district. Horn made himself master of Trarbach on the Moselle in June, which mountain fortress he took from the Spaniards; thence marching up that stream he captured on the 3rd July Graffenberg, after a six days' siege, and then Berncastel and Veldentz. He then entered Spire; and lastly, after combining with the Rhinegrave Otto Lewis, he surprised 1000 Imperial cavalry in an ambuscade near Wisloch; and effectually routed the Imperial forces on the 6th August near Strasburg, which city made a formal declaration in favour of Sweden. On the 10th, Horn made a public entry into this important city, when the magistracy received him with all possible honour. Montecucculi now came down upon Heidelberg, and the Imperialists laid siege to Wisloch, on which Horn made such an extraordinarily rapid march, that in the first place he raised the siege on the 15th, and, at the same time,

very nearly surprised the besiegers in making their retreat.

Fall of Benfelden.

On the 21st August, Horn, having returned to Strasburg, crossed the Rhine at the bridge there, and determined to secure the entire valley of the Rhine by the possession of Benfelden and Stolhofen. The latter place surrendered at the first summons, but the other resisted a siege for eight weeks, and did not indeed surrender until the 8th October. In the mean while he reduced Eberstein to obedience, and took Offenburg, and Ottenberg Castle, before which place he received a slight wound in the side; notwithstanding repeated attempts, however, on the part of the Imperialists under Ossa to force him to interrupt the siege of Benfelden, the same went on *pari-passu* until the surrender of the place. This digressive campaign of Horn was considered a masterpiece in the art of war, in which he displayed all the abilities of a disciple, and brought no disgrace on the school, of Gustavus. By the occupation of all the principal fortresses in the valley of the Rhine, he secured the possession of two-thirds of Alsace as a base for future operations on the part of Sweden and France against the Imperialist allies, and held it as a material guarantee against the House of Hapsburg, because this province was the valuable inheritance of the Emperor's brother, the Archduke Leopold, and therefore much prized.

Horn is summoned to the support of Duke Bernhard: discontent of the troops.

Thus matters stood at the moment that the bloody battle of Lutzen deprived Horn of his friend and royal benefactor, and it was a sore grief to him that he had not the melancholy satisfaction of having fought by his side in that fatal field. Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, who succeeded to the chief command of the Swedish armies on the death of the King, was unable to maintain his ground against the Imperial forces, and felt himself constrained to call some of the outstanding detachments to his assistance; Horn was accordingly directed to give over his command on the Rhine to the

Landgrave Otto Lewis in the spring of 1633, and to carry up some reinforcements to Duke Bernhard. The successes that had crowned the arms of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany had been earned by a rare demand upon the energies of all ranks of the Swedish army. Winter campaigns, forced marches, storming of intrenched camps and strong fortresses, pitched battles, dangerous skirmishes, &c., had occasioned many sacrifices and (unfortunately) yielded but little spoil. So far from this costly effusion of blood having enriched either officers or men, they had scarcely received the arrears of pay that were due to them. The greater part of the sums raised by contributions, or levied upon the conquered provinces, had either been delivered over to the military chest, or had found its way into the pockets of individuals. This created very great dissatisfaction, and excited a growing discontent. The private soldiers declared that although the world rang with the glories and victories which their hands had won, yet no one gave them a word for their services, nor rewarded them for their sacrifices. All this, it must be confessed, had some truth in it; but during the King's life the spirit of loyalty as well as military obedience had kept the troops quiet. In the year that had now elapsed since the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the seeds of this discontented spirit already sown bore fruit in a disguised sedition, until at last it broke out in open mutiny, which kept increasing in growth until by intercepted letters it was discovered that the malcontents were numerous, and that endeavours were even making to seduce the soldiers on the Rhine and Elbe to combine in a common cause, for the purpose of repaying themselves by a devastation of Germany. Horn, as an honest disciplinarian, would have urged Duke Bernhard to crush the wild spirit by a vigorous display of force, but the calmer judgment of the Chancellor Oxenstierna was more effective in its results. He saw that at the bottom of the discontent there was a covetous spirit of

cupidity among the leaders, from Duke Bernhard himself down to the lowest soldier, and he therefore proposed to modify the universal evil by the most lavish promises of aggrandizement and spoil as soon as it could be acquired. Bernhard was promised, as his share of the booty, a reversion of the Bishoprics of Wurzburg and Bamberg, to be formed into a Franconian duchy; and it is said the moderate, and as it was thought disinterested, Gustavus Horn "obtained a promise of the government of Mergentheim." This arrangement happily succeeded: it came from one who was himself perfectly disinterested, and enjoyed unusual confidence from all ranks, and it was acquiesced in generally by his countrymen. Order was accordingly restored to the ranks of the Swedish army.

It was considered wise, however, not to maintain the army for the present in one large body, which might again revive seditious discussions; but, as well for ordinary supplies as for easier check and control, it was thought preferable that the different forces should again separate; accordingly, Horn was directed to march away to his old ground of the Rhine, between Suabia and Alsace. He found the Imperialists under Ossa congregated in the Duchy of Wirtemberg. These forces retired into Switzerland at his approach, and, as this was a country which had not been much visited by either army, the Swedish General was tempted to follow them. He first sat down to reduce Kostnitz, but found he had not siege material proper to capture it. It soon appeared, however, that shortly after he had quitted Duke Bernhard, a Spanish force under the command of the Cardinal Infanta, brother of Philip IV., had appeared in Bavaria, and was united to the Elector's army under Aldringer. The danger being imminent, Horn immediately marched away, and on his road called up to his assistance a detachment under the Palsgrave of Birkenfeld; thus carrying up 30,000 men to the aid of the Duke of Weimar. But in the

march, however, not far from Stockack, he met the combined army of his opponents on their march downwards into Suabia, and,—in a manner not easily to be accounted for by modern experience,—it is said that both adversaries passed at the distance of about half a league from each other.

Anecdote of Horn: siege of Constance.

It was probably at this time that Horn laid siege to Biberach, not far from Ulm, which has furnished an anecdote that is related in every biography of our hero. The Governor, Count Strasholt, had very much put him out of his calculations by the pertinacity of his defence of the fortress. Accordingly, the irritated General loudly declared that both the garrison and the commander should pay the penalty of their obstinacy, and be sacrificed to a general storm. He had accordingly issued orders for an assault, and his troops were actually on their march to deliver it, when he was met by a trumpeter bearing an offer of capitulation. Horn was enraged beyond measure at this disappointment to his revenge; but as he rode forward meditating upon it, he was suddenly encountered by a crowd of young women of condition, issuing out of the town, weeping and filling the air with their lamentations. They soon surrounded his horse, before which some fell on their knees, and others seized his stirrup; until, overcome by emotion, Horn requested that some one of them would be pleased to represent the request of the whole body. On this a young lady, having more confidence than the rest, implored at his hands the preservation of their honour and the lives of their innocent families from the horrors of an assault. The severity of his countenance relaxed in a moment into a look of graciousness, and he replied, "I lay my indignation, my just resentments, together with my revenge, at your feet; but tell that blockhead and brute, your governor, that I respect your tears as much as I despise his sword. Let him send to me, and I will execute conditions; Heaven knows that I thankfully embrace the opportunity of saving the

lives of the innocent, rather than have to massacre a herd of barbarian soldiers." Nevertheless, he insisted that the garrison should be disarmed, and that they should not be allowed to march out with military honours. He subsequently pushed the Swedish arms as far as Constance, the siege of which did him great honour.

Dissuades Duke Bernhard from attempting the relief of Nordlingen.

The death of Wallenstein in February, 1634, opened a new phase of the war. Ferdinand, King of the Romans, succeeded to the command in chief of the Imperial armies, and under the tutorship of Gallas and De Werth, and in despite of the Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, he sat down and captured Ratisbon and Donauwerth. The loss of these Imperial cities was severely felt by Oxenstierna, the Swedish Chancellor, as the friendship of these towns had so largely contributed to the success of their arms. Moved by these considerations, it was resolved that Duke Bernhard and Horn should again unite, and that their combined forces should advance to relieve Nordlingen, in Suabia, which was now threatened with reduction. In the Council of War, which was summoned before the commencement of operations for this object, Gustavus Horn represented strongly the danger of hazarding a battle for its preservation. He proved that in numbers the enemy was greatly their superior, and gave it as his opinion that it would be preferable to disturb and impede the progress of the siege from without, in conjunction with the endeavours of the garrison from within, in order to await the coming up of expected reinforcements. Duke Bernhard was firmly of a different opinion, and, transported by violence, dropped some insinuations, which proved that he was not yet old enough to distinguish between apparent timidity and a courageous prudence in an officer. Horn was known to be as brave as he was judicious, yet he never returned even an unkind look upon his comrade, nor did any sharp answer escape the lips of the veteran soldier when yielding to

the impetuosity of the youthful Prince, but he submitted, as became a soldier, to his commanding General.

On the 3rd September 20,000 Spaniards marched into the Imperial camp, which raised the army besieging Nordlingen under the King of Hungary to about 46,000 men. On the 5th the Swedish army broke up their camp near Bopfingen, about ten miles from Nordlingen, and marched as if they would go to Ulm; but, making a sudden movement to the left, they debouched out of the woods in complete line of battle on the right bank of the Goldbach. The battle-field in which they found themselves was exceedingly broken. A mountainous ridge, which divides the basin of the waters flowing towards the Rhine and the Danube, and which at the present time almost separates the kingdoms of Wurtemberg and Bavaria, throws out spurs or cones called the Löndel, the Tannenberg, the Haëfelberg, the Arnzberg, and the Allbuch. The ground thus occupied by their great arms was crossed like the hypothenuse of a right-angled triangle, by the road from Ulm to Nordlingen.

Horn is taken prisoner.

The Swedes no sooner showed themselves than they were charged by the enemy's cavalry, which they repulsed back to the heights on which the Imperialists had intrenched themselves, who rested their left on the Allbuch, and their right on the Tannenberg. Duke Bernhard ordered the villages of Edenheim and Hirscheim to be occupied, and the Haefelberg to be carried, which was done; and this was the position and the state of affairs on both sides on the 6th September. The next morning Gustavus Horn, on the right wing, was ordered to move all his cavalry by cross roads to the Allbuch, in order to mask Duke Bernhard's deployment of the infantry for an attack in the plain of the Goldbach. The body of horse which headed the movement was repulsed, and driven to re-form behind such protection as offered itself; but their gallant leader carried forward the Swedish

infantry under a terrible fire of Imperialist artillery in order to carry out his orders by possessing the intrenchments on the Allbuch. These he carried gloriously; but in their ardour, the Swedes hurried in a disorderly pursuit after the flying foe. At this moment the Imperial cavalry came down into the midst of the scattered soldiery, and was in the act of making a dreadful slaughter, when an explosion of some kind threw the Swedes into the most complete confusion. Duke Bernhard, who was, with his right wing, master of the Haefelberg, witnessed the disaster, and sent Count Thurn with two regiments to hasten to Horn's assistance; but these were encountered midway, near Klein-Erdingen, and completely routed. Notwithstanding every disadvantage however, Horn, having relieved the right wing, stubbornly maintained the position he had won for six hours; but Bernhard, exposed to the murderous fire of fifty guns, could no longer maintain the Haefelberg, and, quitting the mountains, descended into the valley of the Goldbach. Here Horn joined him from the Allbuch, and took on himself bravely and ably to cover the retreat of the entire army towards the Arnzberg with the Swedish cavalry; but the soldiers had become utterly disorganized and unmanageable, and Horn, after receiving several wounds, was made prisoner, together with three other generals, while Duke Bernhard himself narrowly escaped a similar fate.

Courtesies of Horn's captors: seasonable interposition of France.

Horn had behaved like a lion in this disastrous fight. He is said to have led forward the troops to fifteen several attacks, and had stood firm on the field to the last in the defence of the intrenchments, co-operating with Cratz in the endeavour to restore order in the troops he commanded. He was, immediately after he was seized, carried direct to the tent of the Cardinal Infanta. The Swedish General politely made an offer to kneel and kiss His Royal Highness's hand, but the Prince raised him, saying, he "would accept this mark

of his esteem standing." The King of Hungary, who came to the tent of the Spanish Prince, added, that "he congratulated himself upon his having, by a fortunate accident, overcome the bravest and best man in the Swedish service," to which Horn replied, "that Fortune had been kind to him in the midst of her severity, by consigning him to such generous hands." With the true grandiose attention of a Spaniard, the Cardinal yielded up his own tent for the accommodation of the illustrious captive, and repaired to a petty hovel which was hastily erected for the Prince; and all the principal generals and superior Imperialist officers paid Horn a visit of ceremony, and their compliments on his character and conduct. Duke Bernhard is said to have been perfectly overwhelmed when he was informed that Horn was a prisoner. It was reported that he tore his hair and beat his head like a man distracted; he exclaimed, "I am the ignorant soldier, but Horn is the wise general! Where is my brave and experienced camp-master general? Alas, he is a prisoner! he is taken from me! and Fortune has reserved me in her cruelty to walk the world alone in liberty." The Emperor knew well enough the exalted character of Horn, and would not listen to any terms of ransom or exchange; he directed that he should be sent to Ingoldstadt in Bavaria, and kept there on his parole. The capture of a man of such merit was regarded as an event of almost equal importance to the victory, which had utterly annihilated a Swedish army. The Swedish Chancellor likewise was overwhelmed with the disaster, for he saw, in his wonderful prescience, the terrible consequences of it to the cause. The Swedes, by the disaster, had lost their superiority in the field, together with their entire army; and its greatest leaders had been lost to the cause. Weimar had become discredited, and Horn a prisoner. This terrible defeat would have completely destroyed the Protestant League, had not France, which at this very time was engaged in a cruel

war of religion against her Protestant subjects, sustained the cause of the reformed faith in Germany.

A genius like Horn could not live during a long imprisonment without a resource of some kind, and in his solitude he composed a treatise on the duties of a complete and perfect general; but whether the book, "Ducis perfecti munus," was composed by Horn, or indeed ever written at all, appears at this time of day to be somewhat uncertain. At all events, the term of his imprisonment at Ingoldstadt lasted eight long years, until after Duke Bernhard had succeeded in taking John de Werth prisoner, in the year 1642, and even Oxenstierna could only then negotiate his release against the exchange of three distinguished generals. When, however, Horn had regained his liberty, he thought it his first duty to repair to Paris, to offer his grateful thanks to King Louis XIII. for his successful exertions, to which he was mainly indebted for his release. His Majesty received him very munificently, and with generous delicacy endeavoured to assuage his long captivity by the royal present of a sword set with diamonds, of the value of £2000. He also received very particular marks of respect and consideration from all the authorities, when he afterwards proceeded by way of Holland to wait upon Queen Christina in Sweden. His own Sovereign received him with the most flattering condescension, and immediately appointed him to a military command. The hope of profiting by the state of feebleness to which Sweden was reduced in 1643 had awakened Christian IV. to display a mean jealousy of the progress of their arms, and had induced him to do all in his power to distract them, by laying heavier burdens on the navigation of the Sound, and restraints on Swedish commerce. These grievances had become at last so irritating, that Oxenstierna counselled reprisals; and Field-Marshal Horn was directed to invade Schönen, or Scania, a province then belonging to Denmark, commanding one shore of the

Horn regains his liberty: invades Denmark: his death.

Sound. This was successfully accomplished, while Torstenson and Wrangel occupied Jutland and Holstein; and this short-lived war was terminated so greatly to the satisfaction of the Queen, by the treaty of Bremsebor in 1645, that Her Majesty conferred upon Horn the dignity of Constable of Sweden. He was subsequently entrusted with the administration of public affairs in Livonia and Scania as Governor-General, and here he died in 1657.

His character.

Gustavus Horn was truly one of the greatest generals of the school of Gustavus Adolphus, who used to call him "his right arm." He was like his royal master in many things: in the bravery of his conduct; in the moderation of his judgment; and, last not least, in his piety, which he not only openly practised, but studied to cultivate among the troops. His enemies even reported well of him for his especial clemency towards those he conquered. It has been recorded of him, that he had a firm conviction that much might be learned as to the resolution of soldiers to undertake any great operation from their looks, which induced him not only to mark his own men's physiognomy, but by means of a pocket glass to study those of the enemy on the approach of a conflict; and it has been related, that the great Earl of Peterborough had a similar notion; but I scarcely think, that any thing trustworthy can be accomplished of the kind in a moment of action; and that a general would lose much of most valuable time, were he to resort to such a practice. Horn had two sons born to him of the daughter of the Chancellor Oxenstierna, but they both died in their youth; and it is not believed that he left any descendants, although there are two Counts of the same name who figure in the Swedish annals of the following century[1].

[1] De Peyster; Harte; Schiller; Frykell; Biographie Universelle.

OCTAVIO PICCOLOMINI,

AN IMPERIAL GENERAL.

Born 1599. Died 1656.

THE family of Piccolomini is among the most distinguished of the great Italian families, which included many Popes, Cardinals, and Bishops, in its pedigree, some of whom were of considerable literary reputation in the sixteenth century, writing works upon philosophical inquiries that are still valued. They were settled at Sienna, and in the fifteenth century obtained by marriage the Duchy of Amalfi. It does not appear with any certainty that the subject of our memoir sprang from this high family, although a descent has been given him through a sister of Pope Pius II., who, it is said, adopted her children to the estate and honours of Piccolomini. There was, however, an adventurer of the name of Alphonso Piccolomini, who somehow or other obtained the title of Duke de Montemariano, who was chief of a bandit troop of all nations, with which

His parentage.

he pillaged the States of the Church, and who for eight years was received into the service of France; but he was subsequently taken prisoner by the Duke of Tuscany, and hung in 1591. The father of Octavio was named Sylvio, and was in the service of the Grand Duke Ferdinand; but in those times a military leader as commonly met his death on the scaffold as in the field, and no especial disgrace attached to his family from such a circumstance, so that Octavio, without any reflection on his ancestry, may have been the grandson of the adventurer, whom it must be acknowledged that he in many respects resembled.

Birth, early training, and first military service of Piccolomini.

It is believed that he was born in Florence in 1599, and that he was initiated from his early years in the pursuit of arms. It is said he at first entered into the service of Spain, and that his first essays in war obtained for him so much credit, that on the breaking out of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 he had already the rank of Captain of Cavalry, and was induced by the Emperor Ferdinand II. to transfer his services to the Imperial cause. This potentate was thought to be rather partial to adventurers so long as they professed the most superstitious form of the Papal Church. The Frenchman, Dampierre; the Spaniard, Boucquoi; the Bohemian apostate, Slawata, were all colleagued with young Piccolomini in the opening campaigns of Bohemia, and he acquired the peculiar distinction of being still in the service of the Emperor down to the very concluding year of the Thirty Years' War. He was first employed in the army of the Emperor against Bethlem Gabor; and we do not again hear of him until 1628, when, as Colonel of Infantry, he commanded in the personal guard of the Duke of Friedland, and had the cunning to avow himself an astrologer, in order to influence his great leader, which it is thought he frequently did to his own benefit, and blended his general's superstitious belief in the stars by false conjunctions. He is spoken of as having been in the battle of

Lutzen, where he evinced exemplary courage about the person of the Generalissimo, and where he received four wounds, while his cuirass bore the impression of ten balls, and he had there three horses killed under him. It was from his regiment of cuirassiers, that (as has been supposed) the fatal shot came that laid the great Gustavus low, and it was Piccolomini who, with characteristic avidity, stripped the King's body and obtained from it the buff waistcoat, which he sent as his offering to the Emperor, and which is still in the Arsenal at Vienna. He was one of Wallenstein's principal agents in his invasion of Silesia in 1633, into which he carried fire and sword, and completely destroyed the great manufacturing town of Reichenbach. He was now of the rank of general, and in command of detachments; nevertheless, he was one of the leaders who abandoned Wallenstein, and if, as it has been charged against him, he did not basely betray him, he was cognizant of the intrigue, and "was consenting to his death," so that he came in for some share of the spoils of that ill-fated Generalissimo. Oddly enough, however, he was, at the first, entirely passed over, because he was found to have appropriated to himself the plate and all the movable property found at Eger which had belonged to the murdered man, and which, strange as it may sound, the more menial offenders had spared. He was, however, afterwards rewarded with the gift of the estate at Rachod, or Nachod, which had belonged to the Duke of Friedland. He succeeded to a high command in 1634, and was present and contributed largely to the victory of the Imperialists at Nordlingen. In 1635 he received the command of an army consisting of 12,000 men and 7000 horse, which was opposed in the Netherlands to the French Marshal de Brezé, whom he forced to raise the siege of Louvain, and subsequently to retire from St. Omer, thus completely turning the tide of affairs in the Netherlands to the benefit of the Emperor.

Piccolomini had now attained to the highest repu- His high

military renown: abortive invasion of France.

tation of his career, and was regarded as one of the best generals of the Empire. Joined by an army under John de Werth in 1636, he entertained with that dashing leader the idea of invading France, and marching direct upon Paris. His colleague was at the head of the Imperial cavalry, and, with unusual experience for partisan warfare, advanced rapidly along the *grande chaussée* almost to the capital, spreading terror around; forcing his passage of the rivers Somme and Oise; and in his rapid march compounding for the plunder of cities by large ransoms of money. Piccolomini was thought to have acted upon the reverse principle, and to have delayed his co-operation with the infantry in order to pick up his share of the plunder of the towns by an actual levy. This delay proved fatal to the enterprise, for Richelieu had time to assemble 50,000 men, when the Imperialists were obliged to evacuate France with all haste. In 1637 he was sent to relieve Thionville, then besieged by a French force under the command of Isaac de Feuquieres, Lieutenant-General of the King's armies; and this he not only effected, but brought the French force to an open engagement, and took the General with 5000 men prisoners, and all his guns and baggage. This De Feuquieres was the father of the celebrated writer of military memoirs, styled by Voltaire "officier consommé dans l'art de la guerre et excellent guide, s'il est critique trop sévère." The Duchy of Amalfi having about this period failed for want of male issue, Piccolomini advanced a claim for that dignity from the King of Spain, and was created accordingly Duke, with remainder to his great-nephew Œnid, in whom it failed, at his death in a duel, in 1673.

It does not appear what part was undertaken by Piccolomini in 1638, while Bernhard of Saxe Weimar and Marshal Guebriant on the one side, and John de Werth and Savelli on the other, were carrying on the war along the Rhenish Valley, and Baner and Gallas were contending on the frontier of Poland; but

on the removal of the latter from the Imperial command, Piccolomini was recalled into active service, and in 1640 was associated with the Archduke Leopold (brother of the Emperor) in the campaign that was opened in the spring of that year against Baner in Bohemia. The Confederates, however, rallied an overwhelming force of Weimar, Hessian, and Luneburg contingents, amounting to 40,000 men, and the Duke d'Amalfi with great prudence fell back to Saalfield, where he took up a camp that was so advantageously posted and defended, that Baner found it altogether impracticable to attempt to force it. The strategy of the leaders of armies at this period appears to have consisted simply in taking up a strong post and standing firm until forced out of it by sword or famine. Opposing armies no longer sought great victories in the field unless to obtain means of subsistence, which was their greatest requisite. The whole country of Saxe-Coburg had to bear the support of both armies, and as in this instance having been completely laid desert, scarcity began to prevail in both camps, and Piccolomini quitted Saalfield in order to form a junction with the Bavarians under Mercy, who had been called back out of Suabia and the Palatinate. The two armies now took up their encampments opposite each other at Neustadt, in the Duchy of Cobourg, but pestilence and famine still kept them both quiet. Piccolomini's opponent, the Swedish General Baner, lost his wife from the sickness that raged in this encampment, and had buried her and married another wife before the Imperialists had aroused themselves to lift their camp. Baner, however, had also been obliged to move; but, apparently altogether indifferent to the movements of his adversary, took up his winter-quarters at Hilderheim, in Lower Saxony. The Duke d'Amalfi, again taking the field, attempted to penetrate the Swedish lines in order to get to Lunenburg, but Baner's activity and diligence baffled all his efforts, and the

Imperialists took up their winter-quarters in the valley of the Maine. It was in the course of this winter that Baner made his celebrated attempt to seize the person of the Emperor, or, at all events, to dissolve the Diet at Ratisbon, and on his failure to effect any surprise, Piccolomini was called upon to endeavour to cut off the Swedish General's escape. He took a short route from his cantonments by Schlakenwald, and came up so quickly upon the retreating Swedes, that Baner only succeeded by a single half-hour in clearing the pass of the mountains into the Voigtland. The Swedish General met with a sudden death a few months after this, and his army was exposed to considerable inefficiency by the disputes that arose among the committee of Generals who aspired to command it. Accordingly, Piccolomini advanced, and took advantage of this state of things to proceed to the relief of Wolfenbüttel, where an Imperial garrison had long held out against the besieging Confederates; but Marshal de Guebriant, bringing up the Weimar contingent with that of Luneburg under Klitzig and Wrangel, and putting himself at the head of Baner's Swedes, the troops of the Union thus reunited, resisted the Archduke and Piccolomini's approach, and gained on the 29th June, 1641, a complete victory under the walls of Wolfenbüttel, where the Hessians came up after the conflict, and were eager for pursuit; but Wrangel refused to carry forward the Swedes until the arrival in the camp of the new Generalissimo Torstenson.

The Duke de Amalfi was now called upon to measure swords with the most potent antagonist that he had ever yet had to contend with, the renowned Torstenson. He was, in the spring of 1642, in sight of him at Salzwedel in the Alt Mark. The Swedish army was admirably posted between that place and Arendsee, but appeared disposed to remain inactive, and as nothing could be accomplished against an enemy so situated, Piccolomini carried his army across the Elbe and threatened an inroad into

Mecklenburg, in order that he might draw away the Swedes from their camp. As usual, both armies suffered from scarcity of provisions in a country that was already laid waste. Torstenson, however, saw through the stratagem, and would not move from his position. The Imperialists thwarted therefore in their plan returned across the Elbe, and marched into Misnia and Thuringia; but the Bavarians under Mercy now quitted the Archduke, and moved off to Franconia.

Torstenson invades Silesia: takes Schweidnitz.

It was now that Torstenson evinced that high genius which was henceforth to affect so considerably the progress of the war. He determined to make the Emperor's hereditary dominions the seat and support of the contest, and resolved to begin with Silesia, and so clear the way before him into the Archduchy of Austria itself. To this end on the 27th March, 1642, he carried his army across the Elbe at Werber, and the Havel at Havelberg, without opposition (for there were no Imperialists in his front), and before Piccolomini discovered his march, he had already on the 28th April sat down to besiege Gros-Glogau on the Oder; and, having carried it by assault, he advanced to Schweidnitz. Francis, Duke of Lauenburg, commanded this district, having his head-quarters at Breslau, and, without waiting for the Duke de Amalfi to come up with reinforcements, he carried the 7000 men he was able to collect so close to the fortress, that it was no longer possible for him to retreat without accepting battle. The Duke had recently been successful in the field against the Swedish General Stalhanske, and driven him before him as far as Neumark, so that he was a little too over-confident in his own prowess, and, in ignorance that the Swedish Generalissimo had drawn together all his forces, he made the attack with headlong bravery, and while he displayed great intrepidity, he was defeated, mortally wounded, and taken prisoner on the 21st May. Torstenson immediately resumed the blockade of Schweidnitz, of which Colonel de Barry

was governor, who was compelled to open its gates to him on the 24th.

Treachery of Piccolomini: capture of Brünn.

Piccolomini did not deem any means base or unfair that might attain an end in war, and accordingly finding himself overreached by his antagonist, and a principal division of his army worsted and destroyed, he resolved, in the true spirit of his bringing up, to have recourse to treachery. He had won over to his interests one Seckendorf, a Swedish colonel, who promised to admit the Imperialists into the camp of Torstenson by night; but the vigilance of the Generalissimo was awakened, the plan was discovered, the traitor punished, and the tables turned against the Imperial General. The capture of Schweidnitz on the 24th May was followed by that of almost all the towns on the Oder, so that Torstenson with his accustomed energy moved off on the 27th May with 1500 foot and some light guns on the road to Olmutz in Moravia. The Swedes opened their guns upon the fortress on the 30th May, and twice assaulted the walls, but without success. Piccolomini was already at Brünn assembling his forces, and the moment became anxious to Torstenson; but happily for him the commandant, an Italian named Miniati, either listened to the promises made him, or lost heart at the preparations making for a third assault, and gave up the place on the 5th June, to the intense mortification of Piccolomini.

Piccolomini is forced to raise the siege of Gros-Glogau.

The Emperor was thrown into consternation at the successes of the Swedes, and sent forth from Vienna some reinforcements under the Archduke Leopold to unite with the Duke of Amalfi at Brünn; and they were immediately directed against Torstenson, who was on the point of getting possession of Breslau when thus interrupted. Leaving a garrison, therefore, of 3000 men in Olmutz, the Swedes broke up their camp, and made an attempt upon Brieg on the 17th, but failing in this also, they commenced their return march on the way by which they had come. Torstenson

took up a camp at the confluence of the Neisse and the Oder, where the Imperialists passed him by, and marched direct upon Gros-Glogau with a view of endeavouring to recover it by a surprise. The place was commanded by an experienced and trusty officer, and the Imperialists had brought up no boats with them to cross the Oder and assail the weaker side. Accordingly Piccolomini opened his guns upon it, and had so quickly advanced his trenches as to have captured all the outposts, and to be within arms' length of the body of the place. The besieged therefore could make no sally, and were closely cooped up by the besiegers. Torstenson learned this state of things with great concern, and sent to hasten up by forced marches a reinforcement of some 4000 men, who had landed in Pomerania under Wrangel, and who now joined the Generalissimo on the 26th August. This brought up the entire Swedish army to relieve the distressed city, which was effected on the 7th September; when Piccolomini was content to raise the siege, in which he had lost 1200 men. The two opposing armies were now only separated by the Oder; but Piccolomini, not feeling disposed to bring the issue to a general action, placed the river between him and his antagonist, and marched by Lubin and Hirschfeld across the mountains, under the well-known Schneekuppe, or Riesenkuppe, into Bohemia. Torstenson, having now rescued Gros-Glogau, left Piccolomini to his own devices, and, contenting himself with securing several strong fortresses, directed his march through Upper Lusatia upon Gorlitz, which place he reached on the 18th; and on the same day he learned that the Imperialists were at Friedland, a little to the south of his camp. From the close proximity of both armies, about equally strong in numbers, it seemed now almost impossible but that a battle must ensue. Piccolomini had selected an excellent position, and would not stir out of it, nothwithstanding that Torstenson advanced against Zittau and captured it under his very eyes on

the 28th September. The inactivity of the opposing armies continued till the 6th October, when Torstenson, seeing he could neither penetrate into Bohemia nor bring his enemy to action, resolved to transfer the seat of war into Saxony, and on the 7th broke up his camp and marched towards Bautzen. Piccolomini also lifted his camp at the same time and followed close upon him. The Swedes passed the Elbe at Torgau, and on the 20th October sat down before Leipzig as if they would besiege it, but the Imperialists seeing this hastened by way of Dresden to its relief.

Battle of Breitenfeld: defeat of the Imperialists.

Torstenson had been joined before the walls of the city by Kœnigsmark, and had at once planted his guns and commenced the bombardment, when he heard that the Archduke and Piccolomini were already at Wurzen on the Muldau, only fifteen miles distant from him, marching straight upon him to give him battle. He accordingly raised the siege on the 22nd October, and moved northwards through the narrow pass of the Partha to Sechausen, and was there met in the defile by the whole Imperial army, reinforced by several Saxon regiments, upon the very spot where eleven years before Gustavus Adolphus had obtained a decisive victory. The heroism of the Swedes was kindled by a noble emulation on this consecrated ground. The Swedes on first encountering the enemy fell back, abandoning any defence of the defile, in order that, if they could meet them on the Breitenfeld and overcome them, the pass might be of difficult passage to a defeated enemy.

It was the 22nd October, or 2nd November, N.S., that the battle of Breitenfeld, sometimes called the second battle of Leipzig, was fought. The relative positions of the belligerents on this field has never, so far as I can discover, been clearly given. There is a small brook that falls into the Partha after passing between Gross and Kleir Wideritsch, which I conclude to have divided the battle-field. In this case, the right flank of the Swedes rested in the low ground about its con-

fluence with the Partha, and the left in front of the village of Breitenfeld. The Imperial left must have rested on the road that leads from Leipzig to Wittenberg, and the right about Sechausen. The village of Podelintz remaining unoccupied by either army, and the road above mentioned passing diagonally through the Imperial position, the Partha must have flowed within its abrupt and hollow banks behind Piccolomini's position; but he had open to him the roads that led to Torgau by Eilenberg, and towards Wurzen by the village of Punitsch, to which he could have withdrawn his army. It is probable that 50,000 men at the least stood upon the battle-field. The Imperialists are said to have had a force of 60 squadrons of cavalry, 11 brigades of infantry, and 46 guns; but what was the amount of the Swedish force I cannot collect. Before either army formed its *battaglia*, the Imperialists extended towards the north-west, and the Swedes towards the north-east. Great consideration was paid in those days to the advantage of the direction of the sun and wind in the order of battle; and so much was this matter considered by commanding generals, that, in defiance of the danger attending flank movements while in action, the troops were often shifted in the heat of it to gain a point. The first move of the Imperialists was to take the Swedes in flank while filing off towards the Breitenfeld, which manœuvre induced so complete a change in the distribution of the troops on either side, that in the end Torstenson occupied nearly the same ground that Tilly had done in the former battle, and the Imperialists displayed their line of battle on the ground where the Saxons and Swedes had stood under the banners of Gustavus. The battle that now ensued raged for four hours. The Archduke Leopold was the first to enter into the fight, and the most obstinate in its continuance. The Swedish advance suffered much from grape and cartridge shot from the Imperial guns, which were disposed in front of their centre near the wood of

Linkelwald; but under the command of Stalhanske they persevered hotly until they fell upon the Imperial left before it had completed its formation, which, after a short and fierce struggle, was put to flight; at the same moment the Imperial right came into a tough struggle with the Swedish left, and threw it into such confusion that some of the artillerymen abandoned their pieces; and to such an extent had the Swedes been obliged to give way, that the Croats began as usual to plunder the captive baggage; so that while both flanks disputed the victory, the Swedish infantry of the centre, supported by a body of reserve, did in effect oblige the Imperialists to quit the field and retreat for safety into the wood, with the loss of all their cannon. This force was afterwards driven through the wood, was surrounded by the Swedes, and cut to pieces. Not only all the superior officers of the Imperialists, but even the Archduke and Piccolomini, the two commanders, fought more like privates than generals. The Duke de Amalfi led the men forward six times in person, and six times was he repulsed; while the Archduke seemed omnipresent, and spared neither example, nor encouragement, nor threats, and was the last man to abandon the field. More than 5000 of the Imperialists were slain; and nearly as many men, with 46 pieces of artillery, great or small, 180 standards, all the ammunition and warlike stores, and all the baggage and Imperial Chancery, were left upon the field to the victors. This bloody success cost the Swedes, however, more than 3000 men, and two of their best generals, Erich-Slange and Liljehok, killed, and 2000, with Generals Stenboch and Stalhanske, wounded.

Piccolomini passes over from Imperialist to the Spanish service.

The Swedes immediately reinvested Leipzig, but the garrison withstood them for a whole month after the battle, and did not open its gates till the 28th November, in which interval the Archduke Leopold contented himself with the endeavour to wipe out his

sense of shame for his defeat by terrible and exemplary punishments, and by declaring whole regiments "infamous," tearing their banners to tatters, and beheading the superior officers and every tenth man. Two of the Imperial colonels, Madlo and Defour, were shot for having quitted the field before their men; but the Emperor thought this severity imprudent, and recalled his brother, who was sent to supply the place of the Cardinal Infanta in the army of the Netherlands, while Piccolomini, yielding his command to Gallas, quitted the Imperial cause, and accepted service under the Spanish King, who had given him his dukedom. Philip immediately despatched him to the Spanish army in the Low Countries to oppose the French, who had been successful under the young Condé at Rocroi, where, for the first time after more than a century, the famous Spanish infantry had been put to the rout, and lost their ancient *prestige*.

Rejoins the Imperialists, and is reinstated in the command.

In going by sea to assume this command, Piccolomini was obliged, owing to the presence of a Dutch fleet in the Channel, to land in England, and to make his way across that kingdom to the Thames, from whence he crossed to Nieuport, where he disembarked in May, 1644. He found that the Spanish Viceroy had been scarcely able to gather an army together since the disaster at Rocroi the previous year; nevertheless, when the Duke de Amalfi presented himself to reorganize the broken forces, Castilian pride and jealousy revolted at being placed under a foreigner, although he bore a Spanish title; he nevertheless struggled against this disadvantage to the best of his ability, and displayed great activity in the service of King Philip IV., again even invading France, so that Marshal Turenne was recalled out of Bavaria and sent to Luxemburg, in order to check the progress of Piccolomini. In consequence of this national prejudice the general found himself completely unable to perform any thing brilliant with the feelings of the soldiers against him, and accordingly he solicited the King to permit him to return to Germany, to which he had probably been

urged by the representations of Ferdinand III., who, after the battle of Zusmarshausen, where Melander had been defeated and slain, turned again to Piccolomini as the best of the Imperial generals, and reinstated him in the command of the armies in 1648 with the rank of Field-Marshal. His presence appeared to infuse new spirit into the Imperialist army, but he could not prevent the conquering Confederates from passing the Lech and penetrating into the Bavarian Electorate. The Peace of Westphalia, however, put an end to his service.

His death. Piccolomini was now fifty years old, and glad to enjoy some repose. He married in 1651 the daughter of the Duke of Saxe Lauenberg, and in 1654 was created Prince of the Empire, and Knight of the Golden Fleece. He did not, however, enjoy his honours long, for he died in 1657, without leaving any issue. The grandson of his brother, the male representative of his family, was permitted to succeed him in his princely dignity, and in his Duchy of Amalfi, and Lordship of Nachod; but his more illustrious representative was the son of his sister, the celebrated General Count Caprara, who served the Empire during the entire remainder of this century, making forty-four campaigns, in the course of which he was only once beaten, and that by Turenne.

His character. Piccolomini was regarded as one of the bravest and most capable generals of the great war, but personally does not command our respect. The baseness of his conduct towards Wallenstein, and the rapacity and acquisitiveness of his conduct on that and many other occasions, have left an imperishable stain upon his memory. As a leader, Piccolomini is principally remarkable for his sound judgment of ground, in which talent he evinced a great and successful superiority both above Baner and Torstenson; and his prudence, which was associated with consummate courage, proved, as it must ever do, a very superior quality in war[1].

[1] Schiller; Menzel; Militair-Conversations-Lexikon. Mémoires de Bassompierre.

KARL GUSTAF WRANGEL,

A SWEDISH GENERAL AND ADMIRAL.

Born 1613. Died 1676.

His birth, parentage, and earliest services.

THERE were two distinguished Swedish leaders of the name of Wrangel, both of whom attained to the rank of Field-Marshal, and both of whom were associates of the great Gustavus Adolphus;—they were father and son. Hermann Wrangel, the father, served with such credit under Charles IX., as well as under the renowned King his successor, in the Polish wars, that he was appointed Field-Marshal after the successful siege of Riga, where he commanded the left wing of the Swedish beleaguering force: and he won the truce that was concluded between Poland and Sweden in 1621. After the King's death he was ordered to join the Swedish army in Pomerania; but, having had some misunderstanding with Baner, he was recalled; and the Regency appointed him to the government of Livonia, where he died in 1644.

The son was scarcely a greater general than the father, but is more renowned in history, for the extraordinary length of his service in the field, as well as for the prominent share that he took both by land and sea in the great conflict of the Thirty Years' War, where at one time he acted in conjunction with the celebrated French Marshal, Turenne. He was born 13th December, 1613, at Skokloster, not far from Upsal, in Sweden. I wish I could add, according to the common custom of Jewish records, who was his mother. The superiority of the Hebrew over all contemporaneous history is shown in the higher estimation given to the mother of a family as contrasted with oriental or classical usage. I am well convinced that the character of heroism is principally derived from the maternal blood: and that it is from the Amazons of our native land that we mostly obtain those daring spirits in either service, who mount the breach, or carry the forecastle, in the Annals of War.

Distinguishes himself at the passage of the Lech, and at Lutzen.

Even from his earliest youth Wrangel was permitted to accompany his father in his Polish wars, and frequently without the Field-Marshal's knowledge Karl Gustaf shared in several affairs with the enemy. But after the armistice above named he was sent away by his father to make a tour in foreign countries, as well to acquire different languages as to improve his knowledge of men. During this period he resided for an entire year in Holland, where he applied his mind to the study of naval architecture, and to the science of practical navigation, which we shall see very materially influenced his after career. He next proceeded to inform himself of the military art at Paris; but he had only just reached that city in 1629, when he, as well as other young men whom the great King wished to initiate into his service, was recalled by Gustavus Adolphus, who was then already preparing himself for his great German war. That monarch appointed Karl Gustaf Wrangel gentleman of his chamber, which was

a customary admission into the King's body-guard. He had thus frequent opportunities of approaching the person of the renowned Sovereign, with whom he, accordingly, became a constant associate and friend. As officer of His Majesty's guard, he landed with him at Usedom in June, 1630, but we do not read of him as prominent in the campaign until April, 1632, when Colonel Wrangel is mentioned as having the honour of passing the bridge-head of the Lech at the head of the storming party, in presence of the King. Although it might be presumed that he could have been also at the side of Gustavus at the fatal battle of Lutzen, yet it appears that he was not present to receive the last sigh of his illustrious patron, though he took part in the ranks on that renowned field, and assisted with as much talent as valour to secure the triumph for the Swedish arms.

His successes under Baner.

He had, however, already obtained for himself such a character for ability and talent, that General Baner, notwithstanding the old variance with his father, took the son by the hand, and Wrangel served under that renowned General with such distinction and credit as a soldier, that he was selected to go back to Sweden in 1636, to organize and bring back reinforcements to the army in Germany. He returned with his mission accomplished, and took post at Stettin, where, as by a miracle, he effected a junction with Baner immediately upon the celebrated retreat of that General from Torgau[1]. About this time he received a gun-shot wound in his head, from which, falling heavily to the ground, he broke his arm, and barely escaped being

[1] It is not quite easy to distinguish between Wrangel father and son during this period of service, since some describe it as the work of one and some of the other. Either might have served, since the father was but fifty, and the son twenty-four years of age; but it can scarcely be credited, that an officer of such high rank as Hermann, and who had been superseded after some variance by Baner, would have been sent across the Baltic to carry a remount to his former rival. This was rather the task of a field officer than of a Field-Marshal.

made prisoner. The effect of the contingency was to place him perfectly *hors de combat*, and he was sent to Sweden to recover his health; but he was back again in Germany under Baner and Torstenson at the battle of Chemnitz, in April, 1639, where he held the rank of Major-General; so that in the interval it is supposed he had obtained promotion, and perhaps again brought up reinforcements from Sweden to the army in Germany. When, after his victory, Baner overran Bohemia and encamped his victorious forces on the Weissenburg, Major-General Wrangel was sent with a detachment against the strong castle of Tetschen, situated on a rock upon the right bank of the Elbe, of which he made himself master by a successful stratagem. He afterwards took by assault Heldsungen, on the banks of the Unstruth, and Hesingen, in which places he captured a number of prisoners.

Defeats the Imperialists at Wolfenbuttel, and at Breitenfeld.

After the death of Baner he was one of the Military Commission in whom the command was vested until the arrival of his successor; and the correspondence is extant between Wrangel and Torstenson, in which the latter assures the former, "that he returns most reluctantly to the war, but that he yields all private scruples to the service of his native country." While expecting the arrival of the Generalissimo, Wrangel was with Marshal Guebriant when, on the 29th June, 1641, they were attacked by a combined force of Austrian and Bavarian infantry at Wolfenbuttel, whom they resisted for five hours, until the arrival of Kœnigsmark with the Swedish cavalry, who enabled them to repulse and cut up the Imperialists. In this affair the Archduke Leopold left 3000 men dead on the field, with seven pieces of artillery and sixty standards. Wrangel now accompanied Torstenson throughout his victorious career, discharging his duty nobly, and rendering important services on several occasions. He commanded the reserve of the Swedish centre at the battle of Brei-

tenfeld, 23rd October, 1642; and when Erich-Slange, who commanded the left wing, was slain, and his whole force thrown into confusion, it was mainly owing to Wrangel that the fugitives were rallied, and united with the right wing to restore the battle; then the Imperial infantry were taken in flank, and driven into the open ground, where the Swedish cavalry came down upon them, and "so played into them," that they were dispersed and destroyed almost to a man.

Takes the command of the Swedish fleet, and rescues it out of Kiel.

Wrangel appears to have been sent on a third mission into Sweden, in quest of reinforcements and supplies in 1643; but in the campaign and invasion of Denmark in 1644, the active co-operation of the Major-General was invoked for the sea-service. He had been prepared for nautical command, as we have seen, by his application to naval studies, and by the practical acquaintance with marine affairs that he had acquired during his residence as a youth in Holland; and in those countries where naval commanders were little else than sea-soldiers the direction of fleets devolved on both services alike, as we have often seen, even in our own times, in the Russian and Turkish wars. Wrangel, endowed with great judgment and ability, was enabled to dispute the sovereignty of the Danish seas with their Admiral-King Christian IV.; and after Sweden had lost at Femern on the 26th July her distinguished admiral Fleming, he, on the 28th, readily weighed anchor and carried the Swedish fleet out of Kiel, and got well out to sea beyond the reach of the Danish combined naval and military force that threatened to impound him in that dangerous bay.

In conjunction with the Dutch, under De Geer, defeats the Danish fleet.

After the escape of the Swedish fleet, Wrangel, conscious of his competence to direct it, did not deem it sufficient for his credit merely to have saved what every one regarded as lost, but solicited and obtained permission from the Regency to put to sea again in the following September. A fleet of thirty ships of a middle rate had arrived about this time from Holland, com-

manded by Louis de Geer (father of the celebrated naturalist), a princely merchant of the Republic, who had converted himself into a military leader and *homme d'état*, and who had served the great Gustavus Adolphus in the latter capacity in many successful ameliorations of his government. When, then, the States General refused to despatch naval reinforcements to the assistance of Sweden, alleging that though it might be in accordance with the treaty between Holland and Sweden to render such assistance, yet that they were not called upon to take part in a war which had been commenced without their consent, or even knowledge, De Geer went forward "on his own hook" to the aid of the country of his affections. His first attempt to bring up a Dutch fleet to the aid of the Swedes failed, because the Hollander sailors he brought with him mutinied, and he was obliged to carry them back to North Holland; but this did not damp the energy and courage of De Geer, who accomplished the equipment of a second squadron, with which he sailed for Gottenburg, and now united himself with the fleet of Wrangel. The combined force numbered forty-two vessels in all, with which they met the fleet of Denmark between the islands of Zeeland and Femern on the 13th October, when Wrangel obtained a complete victory, taking ten ships, burning two, and stranding three, with the loss of only two of his own vessels. The fleet then sailed for Heligenhaven to refit, but the water proved so low that many of the ships got on shore, so that the Swedes lost the favourable opportunity of making themselves masters of the Danish islands, for the protection of which only two Danish ships had been left in commission. When Wrangel at length was ready for sea, winter came on, when the Swedish squadron put into the adjoining harbour of Wismar, and De Geer and his Hollanders returned home. In the spring of 1645 Wrangel was again afloat as soon as the season would permit, and took possession of the island of Bornholm. At this

time a French squadron, under the celebrated French Admiral Du Quesne, served in conjunction with the Swedish fleet for a short time; but in August the peace of Bromesbro' put an end to the war between Sweden and Denmark; and Wrangel, quitting his marine command, resumed his land service.

Succeeds Torstenson, is made Field-Marshal, and joins Turenne.

In April, 1646, Admiral Karl Gustaf Wrangel was created Field-Marshal, and sent to take the command of the Swedish armies, which Torstenson's confirmed ill health had obliged that most distinguished general to lay down, expressing his advice and desire that Wrangel might succeed him. The correspondence still extant in the library of Skokloster shows upon what terms of confidence Wrangel continued to act in the spirit of his predecessor in command. Torstenson had sketched a plan for his opening campaign. It was founded on a principle of studiously avoiding a general action till he could effect an union with the French armies, when the aim was to be to drive the enemy across the Danube. The French Marshal had promised to be in Mayence in May, but Wrangel had been warned by the late Generalissimo from his own experience "that it was the fashion of the French to lie still in winter, but he must be on his guard, for that the early spring might bring the Imperialists and Bavarians conjointly upon the Swedes." Wrangel received from the Queen, by an especial letter from her own hand, the commission of Field-Marshal, with the pay of 17,000 rix-dollars a year; and Louis XIV. likewise confirmed this rank when acting with his forces, and accompanied the letter with the present of a handsome sword, and portraits of himself and the Queen Regent. He assumed the charge of the Swedish army at Eulenburg, near Leipzig, where his antagonists being combined under the Archduke Leopold were in his front. They consisted of 24,000 Austrians, with eighteen Bavarian regiments of infantry, and twelve of cavalry, while the Swedish army, as given over to Wrangel, numbered only 15,000 foot, and 8000

horse[2]; but these were mostly old soldiers, and there were besides numerous garrisons dispersed throughout the Empire. Wrangel therefore did not await a hostile advance against him from such an overwhelming force, but at once fell back to the Weser, where he sat down and captured Hoester and Paderborn. From thence he marched into Hesse, in order to join Turenne; and at Weimar effected a junction with Kœnigsmark. It was not, however, until the 10th August, that he reached the borders of Holland and came up with Turenne, and there learned that by the jealous policy of Cardinal Mazarin the French army was not to be permitted to quit the French frontier, which the great Marshal was ordered to defend against the Flemings[3]. At length, however, the efforts of diplomacy removed this obstacle, and Turenne obtained the wished-for permission to act with Wrangel's army, and the two Marshals combined.

Wrangel and Turenne invade Bavaria.

The Imperialists under the Archduke Leopold had followed the Swedes into Hesse, and had hoped to intercept their commissariat, and to hinder their junction with Turenne. In both designs, however, they had proved unsuccessful through the prudence and vigilance of Wrangel, and they posted themselves now in a formidable intrenched camp, before which the great Viscount offered battle, but the Archduke would not accept it, and apparently thought of nothing but of enlarging his intrenchments, until he was well-nigh buried under his own earthworks. Since then he would not fight, Turenne passed him by and moved towards the Maine, where he carried his troops to batten in the rich valleys of that stream; but Wrangel finding himself disembarrassed from the Imperialists,

[2] So very loose are the statements of historians as to numbers, that in one history just the reverse of these numbers is given, as 15,000 horse and 8000 foot.

[3] "Les Suédois furent quelque tems seuls à soutenir tout l'effort de l'Archiduc." Trognon, l'Histoire de France.

took advantage of their indolence and weak inactivity, in order to execute a plan by which he hoped to give a new turn to the war. He moved hastily upon the Danube, defeated a Bavarian corps near Donauwerth, and passed that river, as well as the Lech, unopposed.

They lay siege to Augsburg.

The Duke of Bavaria, alarmed at his sudden appari- tion, issued orders to remove his valuables from Munich, and complained bitterly to the Emperor of the Archduke Leopold's listlessness. Wrangel and Turenne then sat down before Augsburg, 22nd September, and opened their trenches against that renowned city, which roused at length the Imperialist General to bring up his army to raise the siege of a place of such value and importance. The Archduke, however, had neither enterprise to deliver a pitched battle with his superior force, nor had he the skill to prevent the ravage of Bavaria, and the levy of contributions, by the combined forces of the enemy, who went forward even to the very gates of Munich.

Maximilian renounces the alliance of France for that of Austria.

It was not without a selfish object, that Cardinal Mazarin had allowed the French to accompany the Swedes into Bavaria. He desired to expose that Electorate to all the horrors of war, in the hope that the persevering constancy of Maximilian to the cause of the Catholic League might be subdued by necessity and despair. When, therefore, the Austrian Generalissimo would neither fight for his protection, nor save his people from being sacrificed, but that his country was laid waste and ruined, he carried away his troops to winter-quarters in Austria on the plea that his army was destitute of food, and all at once turned to France, and concluded a peace with that power at Ulm in November, 1646. Turenne was instantly recalled by Mazarin, and Wrangel, abandoned by his colleague, had once again to look to himself. He determined, though it was the depth of winter, to carry his army into Upper Suabia, when the Swedes plundered Leutkirk and Ravensberg; and now finding that the peasantry of

the surrounding villages had taken refuge with their property in the strong town of Bregentz, which, by its position on the Boden-see, or Lake of Constance, and by its steep and narrow passes of approach, seemed to defy attack, Wrangel ventured to assail this supposed impregnable post, in order to secure the rich booty and store of provisions that it contained, and to secure the advantage of possessing the passes leading through Switzerland and the Tyrol into Italy. The peasantry, alarmed at these proceedings, assembled in arms between Kempten and Isay, where their desperate resistance was overcome by Wrangel; and the Swedes, after laying a hundred villages in ashes, turned for better entertainment to Franconia in the spring of 1647, and took Schweinfurt on the Maya; but after permitting his troops to enjoy some little repose, Wrangel again marched away to Bohemia, where he surprised the Emperor Ferdinand III. in his camp at Egra. The Field-Marshal himself penetrated even to the Imperial quarters, and came within an ace of making the Kaiser his prisoner. Both armies being now in sight of each other, a decisive battle was momentarily expected, for both were suffering from want, and the two camps were only separated from each other by the space of a few intrenchments; neither army was indeed considerable in numbers, but the Imperialists were somewhat superior, and kept close to their antagonists, and harassed them by skirmishes and fatiguing marches. Their object was to afford leisure for the renewed negotiations which had been going on between the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria; but Wrangel had no notion of what was going on until, in September, he was startled by the information that Maximilian had renounced the truce that he had entered into with France, and had resumed the alliance with Austria.

The Swedes joined by Turenne.

There is no expression more apposite to the situation of Wrangel, than to say that he was now "in a terrible fix." The Archduke had now under his command the

Imperial armies of Melander and John de Werth, as also once again the Bavarian army under Gronsfeld. Turenne, disregarding all the remonstrances of Wrangel, remained upon the French frontier. He had a singular obstacle indeed that prevented his moving up to the assistance of the Swedish army. He had called to his standard the troops who had served under Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, and these had been noted from the first as a mongrel race of mercenaries, whom no one could venture to dismiss or trust. These men, who were termed "The Weimar Veterans," refused to follow the Viscount beyond the Rhine, but turned back of their own accord at Saarbrück, and recrossing that river advanced into Suabia, headed by one William Hempel, a student from Jena. The Swedish leader revenged himself for his colleague's indifference by drawing the mutineers into his service, which brought him into bad odour with the French government. It added, however, some little numerical strength to Wrangel's force, and, now compelled to retreat, he threw himself into the country of Hesse, whither Melander followed him, both generals equally moved by the desire of revenge to render that duchy the scene of military ravage; for the one had just left the service of the Landgravine, and the other was angry with Amelia for her French policy. At length, Turenne was directed to advance to unite himself with the Swedes, and the last campaign of this eventful war was opened by the united armies.

Total rout of the Imperialists by the French and Swedes.

Marshal de Turenne, however, only joined Wrangel in March with 4000 foot and 4000 horse, but it was sufficient to alarm the Imperialists, for Melander, as soon as he heard of the approach of the French and Swedes, hurried away out of Hesse, and took refuge in the valley of the Danube. He hastened to place that river between him and his pursuers. Turenne and Wrangel, driving the Imperialists before them, overtook their rear-guard, with Kœnigsmark's division of 1660 men, at Zusmarshausen, between Augsburg and

the Danube, on the 17th May, 1648. This battle, as it was called because one of the generals commanding lost his life in it, was in truth rather a bloody skirmish, than a decisive action. The principal incident was, that the Imperialists, having sacrificed already the sick and baggage, and every thing that could embarrass their progress, were charged and routed by the Swedish and French squadrons, and cut to pieces. Melander was killed, and the whole rear-guard retired in disorder across the plain towards a wood lined with their infantry. The fire of the Imperialist foot for a moment checked the advance of the combined cavalry, but the impetus of success was already given, and nothing could stop the fugitives. So great was the rout, that, but for a ford across an insignificant rivulet, which was stubbornly defended till past daylight by Duke Ulric of Wirtemberg, few would have survived that day.

Bavaria invaded and ravaged. Capture of Prague.

After this victory the Swedes and French crossed the Lech, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Gronsfeld to guard Bavaria from their inroad. Wrangel and Turenne chose the same spot for passing that river, which in 1632 had been so gloriously marked by the victory of Gustavus Adolphus, and they accomplished it by the same means which had favoured their illustrious predecessor, under the cover of a fire of artillery too hot to be withstood. The Elector was punished in the severe treatment of his people for his breach of truce. His country was devastated. Maximilian at the age of seventy-eight fled from his capital to seek the protection of the Archbishop of Salzburg; and so closely was he pursued, that when he embarked to cross the Inn, he saw the boat that carried his servants and baggage sunk before his eyes. Wrangel had promptly crossed the Iser with his army, but a violent and continued rain came down opportunely to check the pursuit, and a bridge of boats was ten times attempted upon the Inn, and as often destroyed by the force of the current. The victors spread themselves over the Bavarian Electorate, recklessly rob-

bing and murdering the inhabitants, while Kœnigsmark was sent beyond the Danube with a Swedish detachment of Wrangel's army to invade Bohemia. It is sickening to relate again and again how much the Swedes are chargeable with the calamities and oppressions of Germany, although it is cited in their justification, that the Germans even surpassed them in their cruelties towards their own countrymen. Among other tortures, that called "The Swedish drink" was one of them, which consisted of pouring cold water down the throat until, when the belly of the sufferer was pressed by the foot, it came out again. Never during the whole course of the war had the Emperor felt such consternation, for he had no general left to oppose to men of such high reputation as now commanded against him, and his enemy was in possession of Bavaria and threatening Bohemia. A disbanded officer, who had a grievance against the Kaiser, laid before Kœnigsmark a plan for surprising the city of Prague, and most successfully did he accomplish this bold enterprise, which closed the Thirty Years' War by the occupation of that city in which the first spark of the great contest had broken into flame. The Alt-Stadt, however, which is divided into two parts by the Moldau, was gallantly defended by Rudolf Coloredo, and was in fact never captured; but a rich booty here fell into the hands of the Swedes, out of which Wrangel transmitted to Sweden many precious articles, amongst which were the valuable Correggios and other pictures[4], which had belonged to the Emperor Rudolf; and also the manuscript called the *Codex Argenteus*, or the Bible of Ulphilas, which may yet be preserved in the library of Upsal. Charles Gustavus, called the Palsgrave (who was the successor of Queen Christina on the Swedish throne as Charles X.), now arrived to supersede Wrangel, and to assume the chief command of the Swedish

[4] Queen Christina, without a particle of taste for the fine arts, and with the caprice of a young girl, caused the finest heads to be cut out of the pictures, and had them pasted upon tapestry!

armies, which he assembled in the environs of the capital of Bohemia, in which kingdom and Silesia they took up their winter-quarters, while Wrangel was sent away to the north of Germany to watch Piccolomini, whom the Emperor had recalled and reinstated in the supreme command of the troops of the Empire, of which John de Werth again led the cavalry, Enkefort commanding the Bavarians for the Elector Maximilian.

Peace of Westphalia: exasperation of Wrangel.

The preliminaries of the Peace of Westphalia were at this juncture proclaimed at Munster. But although it brought peace to men of peace, the wild soldiery were roused to fury at news that boded "farewell, a long farewell, to all their greatness." Wrangel is reported to have dashed his feathered hat to the ground on hearing the intelligence, and to have given immediate orders to let loose all the furies of war upon the deeply suffering population among which he stood. He had many merits, but amenity of temper was not one of his good qualities. He is recorded by Puffendorf to have been "one who was still very young, arrogant, selfish, and by no means generous." He had so disgusted Kœnigsmark, his old comrade, that, in defiance of an old soldier's habit—that all must submit to their superior officers—the veteran could no longer stand his arrogance, and marched away from his command when he went to Prague; and the Queen had so far justified the act under the explanation he had given of it, that she ordered Torstenson to write to the Field-Marshal to order him to observe a good comportment towards Kœnigsmark; while the army at large openly preferred the nomination of Charles Gustavus to be Generalissimo in his stead.

Liquidation of the claims of the Swedish troops.

At the conferences for settling the Peace of Westphalia, the Swedish army was permitted to send plenipotentiaries to look after their own interests. After their first demands, it is said that their satisfaction was at last only satisfied at twenty tons of gold! Claims of arrears of pay since the death of Gustavus Adolphus were put at 590,000 rix-dollars; Prince Charles Gustavus

received a benefaction of 60,000; Horn, Torstenson, and Wrangel, 30,000 each; Baner's children 12,000; Liljehok's widow 6000; Axel Lilye, Wittenberg, and Kœnigsmark, 15,000 each; the lieutenant-generals 7500 each; the major-generals 6000 each; the adjutant-generals and heads of the Staff 3000 each; and the sum of two million rix-dollars were divided between the horse and foot soldiers and their officers. Wrangel afterwards received an additional pension of 15,000 rix-dollars from the balance still remaining, and others in proportion.

Honours conferred on Wrangel: defeats the Poles.

Upon Wrangel's return to Sweden Queen Christina received him with honour, and conferred upon him the Governor-Generalship of Pomerania, and the title of Count, which she also endowed with the Bremer-Vörde and other considerable possessions. During the civil wars in France in 1650 Turenne tried to induce Wrangel to lend him his army, to enable him to advance against Paris and liberate the Prince of Condé; but he refused to do so, and in consequence received this autograph letter from Louis XIV.:—"Having been apprised that you have rebuffed the intrigues of Marshal de Turenne, who desired you to assist him with troops against my service, I write you this letter by desire of the Queen Regent, Madame, my mother, to express to you our satisfaction." In 1654, however, that capricious and silly woman, Christina, abdicated her throne in favour of her cousin Charles Gustavus. This Prince had imbibed such a love for war, that, finding his kingdom at peace, he looked about him for some adversary without, on whom to wreak the horseplay of his war pastime. It is reported to have been a favourite dictum of this little worthy occupant of a throne, "that a great King should always be at war, in order that he might amuse his subjects, and be feared by his neighbours." A monarch who could so express himself has long since gone to his most fearful account, to which we may leave him, and return to our history. John Casimir,

King of Poland, had lately been elected to the unsteady throne of that already doomed kingdom, and, like all his predecessors who swayed its venal sceptre, was already in hot water with his distempered subjects[6]. In the expedition that ensued, the Swedish King himself led the army, which was embarked in a fleet under the flag of Count Wrangel as High Admiral of Sweden, who safely carried his Sovereign before Dantzig, where he disembarked the army, and whose ships blockaded the port. Subsequently an order was sent to Wrangel to quit his naval command, and repair to Thorn in command of the Swedish army. It was under the walls of Warsaw in 1656 that he acted again in the field against the Elector of Brandenburg. Here he displayed his wonted valour and talent, and in that sanguinary three days' conflict he was the Wrangel of the past. He followed the Polish General Czarneski from thence into Pomerania, having only 10,000 to oppose to 15,000 men, but when he overtook him he put him to flight near Guesne. This contest was at length brought to an accommodation in 1657.

Invasion of Denmark: Wrangel's successes.

Denmark now anticipated that it would be her turn to receive a blow from her pugilistic neighbour; and she prepared herself to receive it. It came soon upon her: for Charles Gustavus, hastening with his army out of Poland by forced marches across Pomerania and Mecklenburg, took advantage of an unusually sharp winter

[6] King John Casimir appears to have had a melancholy presentiment of the inevitable consequences that must some day ensue to his unhappy country by the unfortunate principle of their constitution, which made the throne elective: for in one of the tumultuous meetings of his Diet, he frankly told them, that their internal strife and dissension would bring Russia, Austria, and Brandenburg down upon them, who would seize and divide their country: but the most remarkable part of the prophecy at this particular juncture was, that in this public menace he passed over Sweden, who had no share in the ultimate partition, although war with that kingdom was the question more immediately before the Council.

season to cross the frozen ocean, and to threaten Copenhagen itself. Field-Marshal Wrangel accompanied him and carried by assault the strong fort of Frederichsudde, and subsequently one place after another fell into his hands. Wrangel then repaired to shipboard, and the Swedish Sovereign disembarked under his High-Admiral's flag upon the island of Funen in 1658, whence crossing the Great Belt upon the ice, regardless of the severity of the season, he encamped his army before the capital; while Wrangel was sent to besiege the Kronenburg, which he took in less than three weeks of siege and blockade operations, acquiring thereby enormous booty, in which were said to be some statues of massive silver. The Danes were overwhelmed at this inroad upon the very centre of their little kingdom, and were glad to compound the quarrel by the truce of Roskild; but Wrangel, contrary to the terms of the treaty, received orders to remain in Denmark, as a "standing menace," so that the Danish King was fain to seek the aid of a Dutch fleet which arrived to his assistance under Admiral Opdam. Wrangel engaged him in the Sound, and the combat was so bloody, that when the Dutch Admiral's own vessel was covered with her dead, and entirely disabled, he saved himself by running her on shore. In 1659 Wrangel made a new assault upon Copenhagen; but having failed, he took possession of Langeland, Alsen, and Funen, and literally blocked up the entire Danish kingdom in the teeth of the Great Elector, who in vain endeavoured to prevent him. This "Swedish Charles," however, like that brilliant meteor his grandson, was suddenly extinguished, having at this period died suddenly in his bed at Stockholm.

Is made Field-Marshal, and a Regent of the kingdom.

Wrangel was recalled to Sweden, and created Field-Marshal of the Kingdom and President of the College of War; for the King had constituted the Field-Marshal by his will to be one of the Regents of the kingdom, and Trustees of the person of the young Sovereign Charles XI. during his minority.

Retires from service: his death.

Troubles having arisen in the Duchy of Bremen, Wrangel went across to the mainland in 1665, to re-establish order in that country. It does not appear what were the motives of Sweden in urging this interference, nor how long Wrangel continued at this juncture on the German continent. It was at a time when the French and Dutch were in hostilities against the celebrated priest-warrior Van Galen, Bishop of Munster[6], and it may have been in some measure dependent upon his proceedings. The ambitious wars of Louis XIV. had put all Europe under arms, and the rapid conquest of Flanders and Franche Comté induced alliances for the protection of the balance of power that included Sweden in their operations. The old antagonist of Sweden, King John Casimir, following the example of his cousin Queen Christina, abdicated, and went to enjoy the sensual pleasures of Paris in 1667, where dying in the odour of sanctity in 1672, the male line of the house of Vasa came to an end, and an interregnum ensued in the succession to the throne in Poland, which eventually brought John Sobieski to become its most distinguished occupant. The Elector of Brandenburg had entered into the general war against France on the side of the Emperor, and Louis XIV. urged Sweden to assist him in making an effective counterweight by marching into his Electorate. This step quickly brought back the Great Elector to his

[6] This man is said to have been the son of a Dutch pirate, and was born in the prison in which his father was confined for fourteen years. By a series of intrigues and good fortune, he attained in his after-life to the Sovereign Bishopric of Munster. He was no sooner elected to that see, than he attempted to make himself its master, and to usurp its privileges; when his subjects revolted, and he gave up their lives to the sword and their property to the flames. He was a dangerous neighbour, both to Holland and France (for he was also Abbot of the famous Benedictine abbey of Corbie on the Somme), and both Louis XIV. and the States-General thought it to their interest to purchase his services or his neutrality.—*Voltaire.*

capital, and Wrangel, although now old and infirm, was again sent with an army into Pomerania; but here he was obliged to keep his bed during almost the whole campaign, and cannot therefore be held responsible for the defeats which his army sustained at the hands of the Prussians at Havelburg and Fehrbellin in the years 1674-5, since he was always at a distance from the fighting, and had to be carried hither and thither in a litter, unable to mount a horse or direct any military movements. At length he entreated to be permitted to resign his command, which being granted him, he retired to the domain of Spiken, a small property he possessed in the island of Rugen. Here he hoped to enjoy the repose due to his age and infirmities, but even this was denied him; for while residing there, in the quiet monotony of home, some of the enemy's ships were reported to be on the coast, and the old ardour was rekindled in the brave warrior, so that he again donned his armour and hastened to organize a defence against the landing which was threatened; but the exertion cost him his life, and he expired under the fatigue of it in July 1676. His body was transported to Sweden, and interred in the church of Skoklosten, in which he had been baptized. He had caused a fine castle to be erected at this place, and very many of his letters and bulletins are yet preserved in the library of this residence.

Review of his career: his character.

Wrangel must be considered a highly talented general from the use that was made of his services by his country; and he is to be noted, as was said of Wellington, more for the word *duty* than the word *glory*. He was sent backwards and forwards to Sweden and Germany with reinforcements and invalids, which men of ordinary love of war would have revolted from, but to which the soldier with unquestionable propriety submitted. He was employed now on land, and now on sea, in a way that bespoke the quality of obedience rather than great professional ardour. He is certainly

as well entitled to the credit of moral courage as was a celebrated minister of our own day, who, as a famous wit said, "was ready to take the command of the Channel Fleet at a moment's notice," although he had never been at sea. Since Wrangel's visit of a year in Holland in his youth (at least thirty or forty years before he raised his flag), he had had no apprentisage for the quarter-deck: he was then already in his old age; and afterwards, when utterly infirm, he was required to command an army against an enemy in the field at a time when any veteran would have demanded to be left to enjoy the *otium cum dignitate* he had so well earned; but he went where his services were required, and did to the last all that was demanded from him for his country. Even the very last act of his life, in the island of Rugen, shows a man in whom a sense of duty was still shining bright above all decay. It is not, however, possible to compare him, as an eminent military leader, with such a man as Torstenson; for it must be clear to every one who has read these pages, that he did not succeed to the energies or the conceptions of his great predecessor in command in the campaign of 1646, and that they were feebly carried out under the orders of Gustavus Wrangel, although there was great daring evinced in his standing up so stoutly before the Emperor when the French army hesitated to come up to his assistance. Wrangel did not display any brilliancy in the concluding campaign of 1647-8, although he was always in his place, whether to go forward or to stand firm, as was required from him. He perhaps lacked the especial qualities so requisite for supreme command, a sense of his fitness for the duty to which he bowed, and the innate power that compels obedience by the characteristic of personal superiority: nevertheless, he was doubtless very great as a subordinate under Torstenson, Turenne, or Charles Augustus[7].

[7] Skjoldebrand's History of the War, and Luoblad's Life of Karl Gustaf Wrangel; Schiller; Harte; De Peyster; Geijer.

RAYMOND DE MONTECUCULI, MONTECUCCULI, OR MONTECUCCOLI,

AN IMPERIALIST GENERAL.

Born 1608. Died 1681.

Birth, parentage, and education.

THE noble family from which this warrior sprang was of considerable distinction in the Modenese, in which Duchy he was born, 1608-9. His uncle, Ernest de Montecuculi, was a general of artillery, and so strict a disciplinarian that he required the nephew to commence his service as a private soldier at the age of sixteen, while at the same time he was to attend to his studies, and especially to those which were in any way connected with a knowledge of war. The old general is spoken of as a person extremely accomplished, but he was mortally wounded and made prisoner near Colmar in 1633. The young Montecuculi became a volunteer in the Imperial army in 1627, and made his first campaign under John of Nassau in 1628. He soon evinced superior talents, and became an officer of cavalry, having

received promotion on being transferred to a regiment of Croats. He was already a Captain in 1629, when he assisted at the storming of Amersfort.

Earliest military successes and mishaps.

He served in Tilly's army in 1630, and shared in all the succeeding operations of the Thirty Years' War; and in 1631 he headed a detachment which he led to the assault of Neu-Brandenburg (in the defence of which Kniphausen won so much renown), where, young as he was, he had the honour to present the keys of the fortress to his General, although he was badly wounded. He had reached to the rank of Colonel, when at the head of 2000 horse, he surprised an army of 10,000 Swedes, who were besieging a town in Silesia, and captured their artillery and baggage. But at the battle of Leipzig, in September 1631, he was carried so far into the midst of the Swedes by his ardour that he was made prisoner. He was, however, now regarded in the Imperial army as an officer of distinction and promise, and was ransomed. In 1639 he was in the army opposed to Baner at the battle of Chemnitz, 4th April, 1639, and had the somewhat inconsequent duty imposed on him of being sent *in pursuit of the victorious army* into the mountains, where he came up with and engaged them, in company with the Austrian General Hofkirchen, on the 20th May, 1639; but after a severe engagement he, as well as Hofkirchen, was again taken prisoner by the Swedes, near Brandeis, where he was detained in captivity for two years and a half. After his release he accepted service under his own Sovereign, the Duke of Modena, and appears to have been engaged in an army which relieved Novantola, at that time besieged by the Papal troops, but in what rank he served is uncertain.

Defeats the French under Turenne.

Before receiving a subsequent command in Germany, Montecuculi played a considerable part under Count Mercy and John de Werth, in the humble capacity of a Colonel of Horse, in defeating the great Turenne at

Mergenthein, or, as the French historians call it, Mariendahl. On the 5th May, 1645, the great General, who had just been nominated Marshal of France in the previous year, 1644, had inaugurated his new dignity by beating up the Imperial head-quarters in the neighbourhood of Wurzburg and Nuremberg, and was there revelling in the forage and food that abounded, taking his ease at Mariendahl; when one morning he was awakened at the small hours by the report that the Count de Mercy was upon him. It was, in fact, Colonel Montecuculi with some Croatian horse who had made this *camisado;* but Turenne immediately concentrated his men, and arranged them in such order as he could; and with these, hastily organized, the Viscount recovered himself, and not only drove back the enemy, but captured prisoners and cannon;—John de Werth, however, following Montecuculi, led forward a new attack in spite of a heavy fire of French artillery, when the Marshal getting between two fires, his soldiers caught a panic, and he was obliged to relinquish all he had obtained, and to make an immediate retreat. His flight was the consequence of Montecuculi's surprise, and cost him a great part of his infantry and all his cannon and baggage. The fact is endorsed by many writers, that a large share of the credit of this great affair rested with Montecuculi. From this period his character became established, and his abilities in war and the penetration of his judgment was deemed so remarkable, that it was a common saying among the Swedes and French, "that Montecuculi kept a familiar spirit in his service, who made him acquainted with all their designs." Montecuculi was now entrusted with the command of an army to defend Silesia. Here he collected four or five thousand Imperial cavalry, which about the end of June he brought up to the army of the Archduke Leopold, who was contending against Torstenson in defence of Vienna in 1645. It had been especially the cavalry arms which had occupied the earlier experience of Monte-

cuculi; and now he brought his regimental eye to bear upon saddlery and equipment, in order to rehabilitate the Imperial cavalry, which had been battered and destroyed at Janikau. The siege of Brünn, which ended this campaign, was raised on the 13th August, when the Imperial army under the Generalissimo Archduke consisted of the divisions under Gallas, Buchhaim, Fernemont, Coloredo, and Montecuculi, now a Major-General. He is spoken of as harrying the Swedes in their attempt to maintain themselves towards the end of the year in Silesia and Bohemia; but he does not appear to have had any superior or independent command in 1646; although it is recorded that he "greatly harassed the little Swedish garrisons to Melander's aid." When Wrangel was, in July 1647, beset in the Bohemian mountains by Melander and Gronsfield, Montecuculi certainly acted in a superior command in that army; and upon the death of the former General at Zusmurshausen in May 1648, he served under the Emperor Ferdinand III. in person, in the victory at Triebell on the 22nd August, when Wrangel was driven out of the hereditary estates, and the great war was brought to an end. Montecuculi was despatched in command of a detached force to occupy Augsburg and to protect Bavaria, during the period that the treaty was discussed at Munster.

Visits Sweden, at the invitation of the Queen.

Upon the disbanding and remodelling of the Imperial forces, Montecuculi was appointed a member of the Kriegs-rath at Vienna, and in the interval of the peace he visited Flanders and Holland. In 1653 he assisted at the coronation of the King of the Romans at Ratisbon; and the following year he received an express invitation from the fantastic young Queen, Christina, to visit her Majesty at Stockholm, where he was received most honourably, notwithstanding that he found himself the only Imperialist among the company present.

Marries the Princess

By the death of his uncle Ernest in 1633, Montecuculi inherited a considerable fortune, which enabled him

to assume a higher position among the aristocracy of his time and country than he had hitherto filled; accordingly he is found in 1655 assisting in person at a magnificent carousal given by his Sovereign, the Duke of Mantua, on the occasion of his marriage with Lucrezia Barbarini. This occasion was, however, attended by a tragical event to Montecuculi, who had the misfortune to wound mortally his intimate friend, the Count Manzoni, in a tilting match. In 1657 Count Montecuculi very much elevated his position at the Imperial capital by his marriage with Margaret, Princess of Dietrichstein. Dietrichstein.

The Great Elector of Brandenburg and John Casimir, King of Poland, had been for some years at war for the possession of Swedish Pomerania, when the Emperor was induced to enter into alliance with the former, and despatched an army to his aid, in the command of which he placed General Montecuculi. In this war he was very successful in his operations; he defeated Ragotsky, Prince of Transylvania, and recovered possession of Cracow from the Swedes, which town surrendered to him upon capitulation after a siege; and he also captured Thorn in the year 1658. For these successes he obtained the rank of Field-Marshal General. In the following year Denmark was invaded by Charles Gustavus, King of Sweden; and Field-Marshal Montecuculi carried a force into Holstein to the assistance of the Danes, and laid siege to Sonderburg, on which occasion he received a slight wound in his arm. This war was at length brought to a close by the Peace of Oliva in 1660. Despatched with an army to the assistance of Denmark: siege of Sonderburg.

By the crooked policy of Louis XIV. the Turks were incited to invade Transylvania, which they did with 70,000 men in 1661; and the Emperor, in order to defend his hereditary states, hastily collected an army, and entrusted their defence to Montecuculi. Count Stahremberg was immediately sent forward by the Field-Marshal with 25,000 men, while the Generalissimo repaired to Komorn, and with great activity col- Montecuculi, with the aid of the French, defeats the Turks at St. Gothard.

lected recruits, artillery, magazines, and transports, which were all held in readiness to be brought up from the valley of the Danube, in order to enter upon the ensuing campaign with vigour and effect. But the Aulic Council, immediately after Montecuculi's departure from Vienna, changed the whole plan of the campaign, and rendered these preparations abortive. The seat of war was directed to be removed to Upper Hungary. The Field-Marshal accordingly, on the 18th August, removed his head-quarters to Tokay on the Theiss, and commenced anew all his preparations for a campaign. He moved up against the Turkish Pacha in command, and forced him to retire into Transylvania. Montecuculi followed close after him, and established himself at Clausenburg, or Coloswar, a capital city of the Principality, situated on the Samos, one of the tributaries of the Theiss. This river he immediately adopted as the base of his operations, for it commands the pass through the mountains that communicates with the two great roads leading into Moldavia and Wallachia. He still, however, retained his head-quarters at Tokay, and in the winter was absent on business with the authorities at Catschan, or Cassovia, when tidings were brought him that the Turks had returned out of Transylvania, and were about to lay siege to Clausenburg. The campaign of 1662 was therefore so directed as to oblige the enemy to raise that siege, and retire again beyond the mountains. But in 1663, the Grand Vizier, Kipriuli, came down with an army of 150,000 men, apparently determined to subjugate the country. Montecuculi, with an inferior and scattered force, had the difficult task of checking, to the utmost of his power, this formidable inroad; and he succeeded in collecting his army together, and taking up a position at Altenburg, on the confluence of the Danube and Leitha, about half-way between Kómorn and Presburg. Hither he was followed by Kipriuli, who in August turned this position, by crossing the Danube at Gran,

and immediately laid siege to Neuhausel, seated in the marshy plain of the Neitra. Almost in the very face of the Imperial army this town surrendered on the 22nd September. Montecuculi immediately fell back upon Presburg, where, by his prudent, judicious, and skilful manœuvring, he baffled all further advance of the Turks for the rest of the year. He then repaired to Vienna, to represent to the Emperor the imminency of the danger in which Hungary remained, and at his suggestion not only were active measures taken for the defence of the kingdom, but negotiations were opened with France to strengthen the opposition to the Moslem, when the Most Christian King was shamed into a change of his policy of indifference, and acquiesced in the demand made upon him for the succour to the Emperor. Six thousand men were accordingly despatched out of France under the Count de Coligni, and were ordered to serve under Montecuculi in the ensuing campaign. These men reached the Imperial army in June, 1664. The French infantry is represented by Voltaire as having been the very *élite* of the young noblesse of the day; and the horse was led by the Duke de la Feuillade, an enterprising youth, eager for distinction. They came into the field dressed and powdered, according to the military fashion of the early days of Louis XIV., with smooth chins and cheeks, and wearing profuse curls of hair adorned with ribbons and feathers. The first sight of such adversaries excited the risibility of the graver Turks, who exclaimed, that "the Christians must have sent their young girls to fight against them." But they were speedily undeceived in this respect. On the 10th August, 1664, the opposing armies came to a trial of strength at St. Gothard on the river Raab; and, after a long and spirited action, victory declared itself against the Turks, who were completely routed in a pitched battle. The French performed prodigies of valour, and were, as they so often prove themselves, the principal cause of victory; and the enemy had to bewail

a frightful slaughter of the Spahis and Janizaries, "the sword and shield of the Ottomans." Long after this battle the Turks did not forget the "Allons, allons! tue! tue!" with which the French cavalry fell upon the Janizaries, so that the Turks are reported to have said, "These French girls have sharper nails than all the women in the Sultan's serail." An anecdote is also recorded of the Germans on this occasion. General Spork, a veteran leader of the Hungarian hussars, already noted as an outpost officer in the Thirty Years' War, was not thought to have been much given to prayer, but he was overheard to utter this petition in the midst of the battle, "Allmächtiger Generalissimus dort-oben! Willst Du uns deinen Christglaubigen Kindern heute nicht helfen! hilf doch wenigstens diese Turke-hunder nicht, und Du sollst deinen Spasz sehen." (Oh God above, wilt Thou not help us Christians to-day? Oh! at least do not help these Turkish dogs, and Thou wilt see what sport we shall make of them.)

Is sent on a mission to Madrid.

The victory of St. Gothard obtained for Montecuculi such a distinguished reputation, that he was deemed a very rival to Turenne himself. He was raised by the Emperor to the honourable rank of Lieutenant-General of the Imperial armies, and was selected to proceed to Madrid in 1666 as Ambassador for the marriage *en procuration* of the Emperor Leopold with Margaret Theresa, daughter of Philip IV., King of Spain, on which occasion he received the decoration of the Golden Fleece.

Takes the field, and is pitted against Turenne, who is slain in action.

In 1672 Louis XIV. declared war against Holland without deigning to explain his motive, and took the field in person at the head of 100,000 men, with whom were Condé and Turenne as his lieutenants, to contend against William Prince of Orange, who nobly withstood their passage of the river Yssel, and compelled the French monarch to relinquish the attempt; nor could the haughty sovereign with all his force, and the service of so much military ability, prevent the junction of the Prince with

the Imperial army. The Lieutenant-General of the Empire acquired great honour for his scientific manœuvres, which are still the admiration of strategists and tacticians. Turenne crossed the Rhine with his entire army at the end of the month of May, 1674, and undertook the offensive by assuming a position on the Tauber. Montecuculi, hearing that the Marshal was expecting a convoy from Wurzburg, and that the Bishop had undertaken to provide ovens in that city for the French army to bake their bread, took immediate measures to pounce upon this convoy in its march, which he succeeded in meeting, and captured and dispersed it. The consequence was, that the French, having now no nearer supplies than Philipsburgh, were forced to retreat south, across the Neckar, when the Imperialist army immediately marched north, and joined that of the Prince of Orange between Ainz and Andernach. After an infinite variety of marches and countermarches Montecuculi carried his army across the Rhine near Coblentz, and forced Marshal de Luxemburg, who commanded a French army, to retire, and enabled the Prince of Orange to besiege, and eventually to take, Bonn in spite of and in the teeth of Turenne. The Austrian army, by the capture of a single convoy, turned the scale of the campaign, and now wintered between the Rhine and the Maas. Notwithstanding this brilliant success, the Emperor thought fit to supersede his Lieutenant-General by Frederick, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, and Montecuculi was sent from the honour of opposing Condé and Turenne, in the campaign of 1674, to an inferior command in Holland. But in the following year Frederick William was recalled in haste to defend his capital against a Swedish army commanded by the veteran Wrangel; and Montecuculi suddenly received orders in the spring of 1675 to repair to the banks of the Rhine, and to resume the command of the Emperor's forces there, in opposition to Marshal Turenne, who had again crossed that river at

Ottenheim, but had subsequently removed his bridge to Altenheim, in order to be nearer to Strasburg. Then ensued a long struggle between these two immortal rivals, each endeavouring to outwit the other, camping and decamping; threatening the neutral Strasburg, which city neither adversary would enter; cannonading the banks of the river to prevent boats from attempting the passage with meat and flour to either army; foraging in search of supplies through forests that had never been previously penetrated; each exhausting all the arts of war to impede his adversary in any object; skirmishes and battles offered and refused; attempts at surprise with various success;—all these gave excitement to the troops on either side, and four months were passed by Turenne and Montecuculi in a game more valued and esteemed by the officers of an army than any thing. It was the subject of continual daily conversation "what next" could be attempted by either adversary. The exquisite nicety of the movements on both sides may be estimated from the circumstance that two large armies were perpetually moving in a space not more than ten or twelve leagues long by four or five broad, in the Canton de l'Ortnau: but while the game was yet in the balance a sad incident occurred that put an end to the campaign. The French Marshal had arrived near Salzbach, or Sarbach, within the lines of Stollhofen, about halfway between Strasburg and Baden, when, mounted on his favourite piebald, he received a cannon-shot that, after carrying off the arm of St. Hilaire, struck the great Marshal in the belly, and he fell dead in the arms of his people.

Montecuculi forces the French to cross the Rhine.

Montecuculi received instant intimation of the great Marshal's fall from a German servant, who had deserted the French army. At the moment of Turenne's death the centre and left wing of his army were formed up for attack, and accordingly the Count waited to see what the successor in command would do. But there was a dead pause. The truth afterwards transpired,

that the two lieutenant-generals who succeeded to the responsibility of command, Vaubrun and Lorgos, spent a long time in consultation, but could not agree. Montecuculi therefore assumed the offensive, and resolved to drive the French army across the Rhine. The next morning Count Capra, in command of the Imperial cavalry, passed the mountains in sight of the enemy, and marched to Offenberg and Wilstadt. The French, however, had marched in the night to secure their bridge across the Rhine at Altenheim, with which movement Montecuculi was not made acquainted till early on the ensuing morning; and thus the French infantry, although in complete flight, were enabled to break down the bridges before they could be reached by the Austrian dragoons. The Imperial Field-Marshal, being desirous to collect his army and conceal his intentions, did not attack until he observed a single brigade taking post behind the Schütter, while the rest had crossed the main stream, and he at once fell upon the brigade de Champagne, who gallantly resisted the enemy till the arrival of support, which was sent them across the river. Montecuculi now brought up the Imperial cavalry; but the French sent across a body of their own, and the generals, officers, and privates rivalled each other in the courage and skilfulness with which they contended against Montecuculi's endeavours to force them to pass the river. In the action Vaubrun was killed; so that Count Lorgos became in consequence Commander-in-Chief. Louis XIV., however, sent down the great Condé to take the place of the illustrious Marshal, his former rival.

Condé compels Montecuculi to recross the Rhine.

Montecuculi succeeded in obliging the French army to cross the Rhine, and to pass over the Imperial army under his command, and thus penetrated into Alsace. Before the arrival of Condé at the army, he had sat down before Haguenau. The Prince found Turenne's army much disorganized, and the task of reforming it was beyond his own failing health. Nevertheless he

forced Montecuculi to raise the siege, and at the end of two months to recross the Rhine with the whole Imperial army.

Montecuculi retires from the service: his death.

The Elector Palatine had long solicited the Emperor to drive the French out of the Palatinate, which they had so cruelly devastated under the direction of Turenne; and Montecuculi was desired to carry out this object in 1676. With this view he marched down the right bank of the Rhine, and sat down before Philipsburg. But after having so long opposed the two most illustrious generals of Europe, Montecuculi considered even the Duke of Luxemburg an inferior antagonist, and in consequence requested permission to give up his command to the Duke of Lorraine, which the Emperor conceded, and on his arrival at Vienna he created his Field-Marshal a Prince of the Empire, and President of the Council of War. He now spent the remainder of his life at the Imperial Court, employing his influence in the protection of science and the advancement of learning. He contributed greatly to the establishment of the Academy styled *Collegium Naturæ Curiosorum*. In 1681 he was invited by his Sovereign to accompany him into Italy, where the King of Spain had bestowed a Duchy in Naples upon the successful general. But he had not physical strength for such a journey, and had not proceeded further than Lintz when he sickened and died.

His character.

The claims of Montecuculi to the character of a consummate leader have been recognized by the ablest judges upon the science of War, among whom it is sufficient to name Frederick the Great, and the Chevalier Folard. He was a man of much reading and research, and his two favourite books were Euclid and Tacitus. During his campaign in Hungary against the Turks he compiled some military memoirs, which have not been deemed worthy the great man's memory; but he also gave to the world "Memorie sull' Arte de la Guerra," which has been deemed an excellent treatise, and well worthy of study. He continued to apply his

mind as well to Natural History as to War to the end of his life. He particularly admired the character of Fabius Maximus, and did not despise his appellation of *Cunctator*, or "the Temporizer," as the character of a good strategist. Montecuculi was a strong built man, with black crisp hair, and of a very dark complexion. He was affable in manner, and without pride; but was of an extreme shyness, and of a gloomy and reflective philosophy. He nevertheless is said to have commanded the love of the soldiery to an uncommon degree. He was in his seventy-third year at the time of his death[1].

[1] Mémoires de Montecuculi; Histories of France and Germany; Biographie Universelle; Militair-Conversations-Lexikon.

MILITARY DRESS OF THE PERIOD.

In concluding these biographies of the great Captains of the Thirty Years' War, it may be interesting to military readers to know in what guise the most distinguished of them appeared on the field of battle. Plate-armour, which still continued to mark the soldier at the commencement of the seventeenth century, was gradually disused, until it altogether disappeared soon after the commencement of the eighteenth century. We have seen that the *cuisses* were discarded by the gallant Sir Philip Sidney in the very beginning of our history; and as the art of war became more disposed to feats of energy and activity, the period in which our warriors flourished was one of constant transition in dress throughout its entire extent. The arm-pieces continued to be worn partially, but were often laid aside. The helmet was worn by the men and inferior officers; but in all the pictures of the great warriors is placed aside in the background, and the head is covered with a brown beaver, adorned with one, two, or three ostrich feathers, red, blue, or white. The breast-plate continued to be worn all through the century, but very much as a military ornament, as it retained all the ornamental embellishment of the days of the tournament, with the taste of the school of Benvenuto Cellini; and it was very much inlaid with gold and other material, while it was lined with rich velvet, which was suffered to escape at the junctures, and where the metal approached the face and hands; falling collars and upstanding wristbands of linen, richly worked and edged with the choicest lace, were much worn; and also the well-known ruffs of the time of our King James are

seen in the pictures of the earliest warriors. The order of the Golden Fleece was worn over the cuirass; and by those who had no claim to bear that honour, costly gold chains, to commemorate some act of devotion, were worn in the same manner. Every one wore a silk scarf of divers colours, which did not in particular denote any thing beyond the mere fancy of the wearer. These were often bordered and enriched with gold and silver lace. The buff coat or elkskin was probably introduced by the hardy children of the North, when they entered upon the contest, although they are seen in the pictures of Spinola: these were worn below the armour, and nethermost under it appeared thick worsted hose of brilliant colours, over which large loose boots of rough unpolished leather, which carried the very large spurs that then prevailed, were pulled on. It may be stated that up to the middle of the century no wigs had as yet been introduced; but the hair was worn in immense profusion, both thick and long. The transition of this fashion among the military is remarkable. Maurice of Nassau, Spinola, Tilly, and Gustavus Adolphus wore their own hair very short. Duke Bernhard, Baner, Torstenson, and Piccolomini are remarkable for their flowing curls, and the last one of our warriors—Montecuculi—is the only one who lived to adopt the fashion of the large wig of Louis XIV.

The chargers of the day were mostly of what we call Flemish, but occasionally the flat-sided and sleek-coated horse of Andalusia is represented in the pictures of the warriors. They were most frequently of some remarkable colour, such as cream or party-coloured, and it may be noted that both Gustavus Adolphus and Turenne were killed on the back of a horse known to all the troops as the special one of the leader of the army. The saddle was of the Spanish model, covered with crimson velvet and enriched with gold nails—the holster-pipes hanging low and open to expose pistols of the choice inlaid work of Brescia and the Italian manufactures, and the bridles were generally very much ornamented with the precious metals. The saddle-cloths were not large, but of very heavy embroidery. It only remains to add, that the swords were mostly very long, the most valued of them being obtained from Spain, where the manufactory of Toledo had already acquired its high reputation for the extraordinary temper of their metal.

The picturesque character of the military costume of this period has been revelled in by the great painters, Vandyck, Rubens, and others, and certainly their portraits carry the impression that the warriors of the Thirty Years' War were more elegantly accoutred than has marked any prior or subsequent uniforms of any country of Europe.

LIVES OF THE WARRIORS.

THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

APPENDIX.

A. OCCASIONAL COMMANDERS OF ARMIES.

FIELD-MARSHAL VON ARNHEIM . . SAXON GENERAL.

FIELD-MARSHAL VON ALDRINGER, OR ALTRINGHER . . . . . IMPERIALIST GENERAL.

CHARLES X., KING OF SWEDEN . (THE PFALZGRAF).

THE EMPEROR FERDINAND III. . KING OF HUNGARY.

COUNT VON GOETZ . . . IMPERIALIST GENERAL.

JEAN BAPTISTE DE GUEBRIANT . FRENCH MARSHAL.

COUNT VON HATZFELD . . IMPERIALIST GENERAL.

DODON DE KNIPHAUSEN . . . SWEDISH GENERAL.

COUNT DE KŒNIGSMARK . . SWEDISH GENERAL.

THE ARCHDUKE LEOPOLD . IMPERIALIST GENERAL.

FRANZ VON MERCY . . . IMPERIALIST GENERAL.

B. LIST OF BATTLES: 1600—1650.

C. CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR.

APPENDIX.

JOHN GEORGE ARNHEIM,

A SAXON GENERAL.

Born 1581. Died 1641.

His birth: serves successively in the Polish, Swedish, and Imperial armies: sent by Wallenstein to besiege Stralsund.

THIS celebrated commander in the Thirty Years' War was born in the Hebermarck of Brandenburg, of a noble or gentleman's family, and began his military career in the service of the King of Poland. He afterwards passed into the Swedish army; and subsequently, in 1626, became an officer in the Imperial army of Ferdinand II. He early attached himself to Wallenstein, who, in 1628, sent him with a detached force to besiege Stralsund. The Court of Vienna, however, thinking him dilatory in this operation, determined to send him to the assistance of Sigismund, King of Poland, then hard pressed by Gustavus of Sweden. When Wallenstein dismissed him, he gave him this strange and vain-

glorious order, "Arnheim, take 10,000 men and drive Gustavus out of Poland; and in case you cannot perform the task, tell him 'Wallenstein will come and effect it himself.'"

Takes service in the Saxon army.

Although he had obtained the rank of Field-Marshal in the Empire, he now offered his sword to the Elector John George of Saxony, of whom he soon became a favourite, and Minister as well as the General of his army. For some reason or other he had imbibed a hatred against the Emperor, and now did all he could to detach Saxony from the Austrian alliance. He advised his electoral master, with the dissimulation and artifice which appear to have belonged to his character, to terrify the Emperor by threatening an alliance with Sweden. The project was peculiarly flattering to the Saxon Elector, to whom the idea of being dependent upon Gustavus, or of longer submitting to the tyranny of the Emperor, was equally hateful. He readily, therefore, listened to Arnheim, and endeavoured to obtain every possible advantage from the successes of the Swedes, but to pursue independently his own plans in despite of the Emperor.

Tilly invades and devastates Saxony.

Thus matters continued, until Tilly, with an Imperial army, laid siege to Magdeburg, and after its capture took on himself to annul the decrees of the Confederation of Protestant Princes at Leipzig by a proclamation, which threatened to visit all the refractory States of the Empire with the fate of Magdeburg. This was followed by a special messenger, sent to the Elector of Saxony himself, commanding him to open his territories to the Imperial troops, and either to disband his own, or to unite them to his army. This order was accompanied with a threat, in case of refusal, to visit Saxony with the most destructive ravages. The Elector replied with spirit, that he could not permit the quartering of Imperial soldiers in his Electorate, nor would he desist from his own warlike preparations. Tilly forthwith entered into the Electorate with Gallas, and these

two, like raging torrents, spread nothing but devastation around them.

Arnheim is sent by the Elector of Saxony to solicit the aid of the King of Sweden.

The Saxon Elector, rendered desperate by the entrance of the Imperialist soldiers into his territories, and by their excesses upon his unfortunate subjects, listened again to his counsellor Arnheim, and resolved to throw himself, not without great reluctance, under the protection of Sweden. Arnheim was at once despatched on the 31st August by post to meet the King at Coswich, and to implore the assistance of Gustavus, and his immediate co-operation, to save the city of Leipzig, then actually invested by the Imperial General.

The King of Sweden's stipulations: assent of the Elector.

The King received Arnheim with a cold and dignified air; observing, "that nothing had happened but what he foresaw, and had already predicted to his master on various occasions." He added, "that he did not scruple to own that he had directed his operations with a view to this very event; and that if the Elector had given him a favourable ear, neither would Magdeburg have fallen, nor would the Electorate have been endangered." John George could make no other reply to these reproaches, than that it was best to bury the past in oblivion. The King replied, "that he had now formed his plans for employing his troops elsewhere, and that he could not, for the sake of the Elector of Saxony, ruin his own cause and that of the Confederation. What pledge," he suddenly added, "have I for the sincerity of a prince whose minister is in the pay of Austria, and who will abandon me again as soon as the Emperor flatters him, and orders his troops to be withdrawn from his frontiers?" Arnheim, who probably felt some twinge of conscience at the insinuations here thrown out—for the King knew that there were many traitors in the Saxon councils, and that Arnheim himself was one of them—nevertheless pressed the King to name the conditions on which he was disposed to render assistance to Saxony. "I require," said Gustavus,

"that the Elector shall cede to me the fortress of Wittenberg, deliver to me his eldest sons as hostages, furnish my troops with three months' pay, and deliver up to me the traitors amongst his councillors," that he himself might be their judge. Although this was driving home the nail into the very marrow of the Field-Marshal, it does not seem, from the sequel, that he was disposed to insist with rigour on this head; Arnheim hastened back to the Elector, who he knew would be impatient for his return. "Not Wittenberg alone, but Torgau and all Saxony shall be open to him; my whole family shall be his hostages; and if that be insufficient, I will place myself in his hands. Return to the King, and assure His Majesty that I am ready to deliver up any traitors he may name; will furnish his army with the money he requires; and will venture my life and fortune in the good cause." When the Saxon Field-Marshal returned with the ready compliance of his master to the conditions required of him, he found Gustavus in a more pleasant mood, for he had assumed the harsh bearing of the former reception in order to test the sincerity of John George's alliance. It was necessary, however, to impress upon the military negotiator that the supreme command of the Confederate army must remain with himself, for therein the King would have no competitor.

Council of War at Torgau: junction of the Swedes and Saxons: defeat of Tilly.

A Council of War, at which the Sovereigns of Sweden, Brandenburg, and Saxony, met to confer with Von Arnheim and the Confederate leaders, was now held at Torgau, when it was resolved, that the Imperial General should be brought to a battle without delay, and orders were immediately issued for the junction of the Swedish and Saxon troops at the bridge of Wittenberg. The soldiers of the two armies are said to have manifested a singular discordance in their outward appearance when thus brought together. The old soldiers of the Swedes, after a dusty march of eighteen miles, and more than a year's campaigning, seemed clothed in

somewhat singular habiliments, with a uniform of a dirty brown colour. The fresh Saxons were apparelled to a fantastic degree of ostentation. The officers carried more plumes in their casques than the heroes of a theatre; and, as they were all in camp and well quartered, they were *spick and span* in all respects.

The Saxon and Swedish armies were on the alert on the morning of the 7th September, 1631, and had cleared the pass of Schortza without any interruption from Tilly by ten o'clock in the morning. The two Confederate armies formed at some distance from each other; the Swedes in a double line on the right, the Saxons in a single line on the left.

The battle had continued a considerable time before Count Furstenberg, who commanded the right wing, fell upon the Saxons. Tilly, with his best troops opposed to the inexperienced Saxons, made short work of them, and fell upon Arnheim with such impetuosity, that his Saxon army was thrown into confusion, and fled from the field, leaving 2000 men behind them. But Gustavus, by the fortunate possession of the hill on which the Imperial artillery was placed, and the immediate use he made of it upon their old possessions, snatched the victory from Tilly, who was driven wounded from the field. Arnheim, having collected together four of his regiments, returned to his ground, and reported himself to the King; and after the danger was over, the Elector of Saxony did not fail to make his appearance in the camp of Gustavus. The King received him most graciously, and thanked him for having advised a battle. And John George, charmed at this friendly reception, at once undertook the charge of investing Leipzig with his army, which the King pushed on the following morning to Merseburg.

The Imperialist army was utterly routed and dispersed, and Leipzig, Merseburg, and Halle, returned to the allegiance of the Elector of Saxony, who repaired

Arnheim invades Lusatia.

to the latter city to meet the King, and to concert with many Protestant princes, who met His Majesty there, the future plan of operations of the campaign; in which meeting Arnheim was in all his glory. The ultimate decision arrived at was, that the King of Sweden should march in person into Bavaria, with the purpose of bringing into subjection the Popish Princes while their minds were impressed with terror at the greatness of the defeat of the Imperial army; and that Arnheim, as the head of the Saxon army, should carry on the war in Lusatia, Silesia, and Bohemia.

Takes Prague: defeats the Imperialists at Limburg.

Arnheim speedily reduced Lusatia—where Tieffenback and Götz made but a feeble resistance—and entered Bohemia. Here he united himself with a little army of Swedes, under the command of the veteran Count Thurn, and invested Prague, which opened its gates to them with great cheerfulness. The Imperial garrisons every where retired before them. All the Roman Catholics who had any thing to lose fled before their advance. The Duke of Friedland, who was residing at Prague in his retreat, refused to lend a helping hand in its defence, and, to the consternation of the Imperial authorities, quitted the capital with his family and all his retainers; accordingly the city was yielded without a blow. Arnheim was so incredulous of such good fortune, knowing how imperfectly the Saxon army was provided for undertaking a siege, that he suspected some trap, until he received a confirmation of the fact from the house-steward of Wallenstein. "The town is ours without a blow," he exclaimed to his officers; and he accordingly made his triumphant entry into Prague on the 11th November. The Elector followed quick upon his army, to receive in person the homage of his conquest. Field-Marshal Arnheim plainly evinced on this occasion, as on all others, his personal respect for Wallenstein, sparing his estates on his march, and now placing guards over his palace, to prevent the plunder of his effects. John

George soon, however, got weary of campaigning, and retired nearer home to Leutmeritz, leaving Arnheim with the Saxon army, which, after the Elector's departure, advanced to Limburg on the Elbe, where he gained some advantage over the Imperialists after a severe action, in which they were forced to quit their fortified camp, and to destroy the bridge they had constructed over the river. He moreover invested Budweis in the beginning of October, and took Egra; after which he rejoined the Elector at Dresden.

Arnheim, as well as Count Thurn, had been already tampered with by Wallenstein. But now Ferdinand had concluded his bargain with the ambitious general, who was in truth master of the situation; and the elevation and power which he had sought to obtain by negotiation, he now resolved to extort by the superiority of arms. Suddenly, therefore, assembling his troops, he appeared before Prague, and he hastened to seize the narrow passes between Aussig and Pirna, with a view of cutting off the retreat of the Saxons out of Bohemia. Arnheim, however, hastened back to the command, and was quick enough to avert this danger; but the entire kingdom of Bohemia was vacated by the Confederates, and restored to its legitimate sovereign in less time than it had been lost.

Arnheim leads the Saxon troops into Silesia.

It was a prominent point in Wallenstein's policy to detach Saxony from the Swedish alliance; and he systematically availed himself of his influence over Arnheim, who was ready enough to be his creature, and to carry out his favourite plans. It was indeed necessary for the Saxon Field-Marshal to manage his master, John George, by working upon his habitual ambition and fears; and Arnheim, in order to embarrass his determination, now carried the Saxon army into Silesia. Saxony was by this means denuded of troops, and left undefended, while some unimportant advantages were gained over the Imperialists; and so well understood was this, that Wallenstein was heard to

declare, that the Austrian cause was safe in Silesia while Arnheim commanded there. The Elector, however, recalled him, with orders to return into Misnia, which somewhat disturbed all the arrangements. But it was reported, that he had put some letters without regarding them into one pocket, while he pocketed on the other side a gratuity from the Emperor, said to amount to the large sum of £120,000 sterling. A letter written by Arnheim to Colonel Spar was said to have been amongst them, which was intercepted and shown to the King of Sweden, bearing this tenor:—"My dear Colonel, I beseech you, in God's name, to convey me no more letters like your last: for if you continue a practice of this nature, you will bring the person of an honest man, and his very life and reputation into question. Moderate, therefore, your style in such a manner, that I may have the power to communicate what you write to my Electoral master." Spar, who was a Swede, when overheated one night with wine, offered the perusal of this letter to one who carried it to John George himself, and Arnheim was summoned to explain his conduct at Dresden. But when he obeyed the command, he took care to be attended by an escort of 2000 soldiers of his own selection; and then contrived by his natural eloquence to justify himself to the satisfaction of his prince[1].

Non-appearance of Arnheim and the Saxons at the battle of Lutzen.

It was in consequence of the doubts thus entertained generally of the sincerity of Arnheim, and the irresolute disposition of the Elector of Saxony, that Gustavus was induced to march up to the neighbourhood of Leipzig in the campaign which resulted in the death of that monarch at Lutzen, from which field Arnheim and the Saxon army were significantly absent.

Mutual jealousy of the Swedes and Ger-

After the battle of Lutzen, Arnheim was again opposed to the Imperialists in Silesia; but the mutual hatred of Swedes and Saxons never allowed them to

[1] Harte.

act together; and with the King's death the German enmity was daily increased against the Swedes, who were regarded as troublesome strangers, that ought to be got rid of as soon as possible. The Swedes, indeed, saw themselves sold and betrayed; and any great enterprise, therefore, against the Imperialists was totally out of the question. Wallenstein, after the battle of Lutzen, withdrew his troops into Bohemia; and in the spring of 1633 his army, which amounted to 40,000 well selected and well appointed men, entered the hereditary province, which he selected as the seat of war. He marched to Munsterburg, where he formed an intrenched camp; and, after remaining inactive there for eight days, he sent Count Tertzky with a trumpeter into the allied camp, inviting Arnheim to a conference. The Confederate leaders commanding the Silesian army had no authority from their principals to consent, on their own discretion, to the proposals made them by the Duke of Friedland. These were of the most strange, not to say the most traitorous character; nevertheless Arnheim repaired to Oxenstierna at Gelnhausen, to induce him to aid in the execution of Wallenstein's plans. The wary Chancellor suspected the whole thing to be only a trick to disarm the Confederation, and to betray it into the hands of the Emperor, and would not give it his countenance; whereupon the Duke of Friedland declared to Arnheim, that they must commence with driving the Swedes out of the Empire. This conspiracy was carried into effect. Arnheim broke up his camp, and marched to Meissen ostensibly for the protection of the Electorate; when Wallenstein, finding the coast clear, surprised the Swedish army, who had been left at Steinau on the Oder, in the most complete security, perfectly and intentionally exposed by the retreat of their allies; when 20,000 Swedes, left under the command of old Count Thurn, laid down their arms before the Imperialist Generalissimo. After the death of the Duke of Friedland, and the serious reverse to the Confederate arms

mans: Treaty of Prague: Retirement of Arnheim.

by their defeat at Nordlingen, the Elector of Saxony openly abandoned the Swedish cause, and negotiated, through Arnheim, a separate truce with the Emperor at Pirna, in 1634, which was reduced into a formal treaty of peace at Prague. Arnheim therefore, after his tortuous and corrupt career, now withdrew from public affairs to enjoy the spoils of his perfidy in his own native district of the Hebermarck.

Arnheim is taken prisoner by the Swedes, and carried to Stockholm: effects his escape: his death.

Here, while revelling in fancied security, at a distance from courts and camps, he was surprised by a party of armed Swedes, and carried off a prisoner on the 17th March, 1637, upon suspicion that he was still plotting mischief against them. He was sent across the Baltic to Stockholm, and made a state prisoner in the Castle there. How long he remained incarcerated does not appear, but he at length gave a new proof of his adroitness in duplicity, by an act of most wonderful address. He pretended that he was in a dying condition, and signified to the Ministry of the Queen that he could make a disposition of part of his estate by sale greatly to his advantage, if they would grant a passport to one of the gentlemen of his retinue to cross over into Germany. The Regency made no difficulty in complying with so reasonable a request, and he invested the trusty person whom he had designated with the proper authority, but retained him about his person until a fitting opportunity to carry out his design. He artfully selected a day for despatching this agent when great rejoicings were going on in the capital of Sweden for the birth of a Dauphin of France—then their fast and most trusted ally. Arnheim gave also a public dinner to his own retinue, and to those persons who were appointed to watch over and guard him. Rich wines in great abundance were distributed to all around, and "le vrai Amphitryon," who was supposed to be dying, issued forth with the gentleman, his agent, in the character of his livery footman, well muffled in a riding coat. He reached the coast with great celerity,

and before he could be pursued had safely transported himself in a little vessel across the Baltic to the German coast. He left his family behind at Stockholm, who carried on the farce with great success; and as his pretended illness freed him from many visitants, he had ample time allowed him to evade pursuit. The success of this artifice greatly disquieted Oxenstierna; but his constant friend, John George, received him with rapture, and he again entered on the command of the Electoral army. But during the time that he was reorganizing it, for the purpose of carrying it to the aid of the Emperor, he fell sick, and died the 18th April, 1641.

His character.

Arnheim is famous in the Thirty Years' War, but was far from being great in any capacity. As a military leader he was held very cheap by Gustavus. And although he never experienced any great disaster in the field, and often saved himself by great activity from impending danger, yet he contrived to bring very great discredit on the Saxon army under his command, for their conduct at the battle of Leipzig, where they shamefully ran away. He was considered to have been the prime and sole suggester of the Saxon Elector's duplicity; and Richelieu, who had been continually perplexed with his tergiversations and shiftings, used to say, "that the Church had lost in him the completest Jesuit that ever lived." But the influence obtained by Wallenstein's commanding mind over him rendered him throughout his entire career a most obsequious creature, and implicit follower. His mean pliability of temper would not, however, have been sufficient to render him formidable, if he had not possessed artifice and dissimulation almost unparalleled. He devoted these talents, indeed, equally to his own advantage, as to those of his Sovereign, his employer; and if gain implies success, he obtained it with the dirtiest hands, and the foulest reputation, as a public man. He was of the same order of commanders as most of

his contemporaries in the Thirty Years' War; that is, he raised troops from his own resources, whom he attached by high pay to his own person; so that he could always make his services of the highest value to any employer. One virtue alone is recorded of him—that he was a man of such habitual temperance in his life and pleasures, as to be styled "The Lutheran Capuchin[2]."

JOHN ALDRINGER, OR ALTRINGHER,

A FIELD-MARSHAL AND COUNT OF THE EMPIRE.

Died 1634.

His birth, obscure origin, early difficulties, and rapid advancement.

THIS officer was born of obscure parents in the province of Luxemburg; but the date of his birth is unknown, for he was brought up as a labourer, and was originally a servant in Paris; however, either by his native wits or the information he acquired for himself, he first became valet, and afterwards secretary, to an Italian nobleman, and subsequently became attached to the household of his master's brother, the Bishop of Trent; but, having been dismissed his service from some cause or other, he quitted the episcopal palace, and made his way to Inspruck, and resolved to embrace the first occupation that presented itself. The first man he happened to meet with was a soldier crossing a bridge, and, getting into conversation with him, he enrolled himself in that soldier's regiment, and at once entered into campaign. Having at the head of a party of 50 men defended with skill and bravery a post, to the admiration of his superiors, he was advanced to the rank of Sergeant-

[2] Schiller; Harte; Geijer; Biographie Universelle.

Major; but being a man of ready and enterprising parts, he applied himself in his leisure hours so intensely to the acquisition of knowledge, that he was shortly taken into the regimental chancery. His pen rendered him so much service, that, having been admitted officer, he rose grade by grade until a rapid promotion carried him in 1622 to the rank of Colonel, an employment of great importance in his days, and which not only introduced him to the great and powerful, but brought him into a Council of War, in which he was recognized as the best debater, so that the Emperor, persuaded of his abilities, created him a Baron in 1624, and conferred on him the Lordship of Roschitz for services rendered to himself. In 1625 he was appointed Commissary-General to Wallenstein's army, and soon became a friend and valued councillor to the Duke of Friedland, who in 1629 sent him as Imperial negotiator to the Conference at Lubeck. He was then sent with Gallas to take part in the war against the Duke of Mantua, and greatly enriched himself by the booty he acquired in the sack and capture of that city in 1630. He fought in Tilly's army at the battle of the Lech, where he was wounded in the head. He was afterwards sent to join Wallenstein in Bohemia, and was despatched by him in an independent command to oppose Horn in Bavaria. On his return to the army, the Duke of Friedland employed him as a sort of commissioner with the Spanish army of the Duke de Feria. This nobleman was one of the politest men of the age, and had the characteristics we are in the habit of attributing to the highest gentleman as a person of very delicate sensations in point of honour, and of the sanctity of engagements between man and man. The Generalissimo and his Commissioner had at this moment probably some very crooked policy on foot, and this so much thwarted and perplexed the grandiose Don as literally to break his heart, so that he died of grief at Munich. When Aldringer returned to the

army of Wallenstein, he was one of those who were instigated by the Emperor to turn against the Generalissimo; but he took no part whatever in the downfall, or murder, although he was privy to the intrigues that led to the cutting off of that great man. He contented himself with absenting himself from that painful scene, by retiring to the castle of which he held the command; and for this connivance in the plot he seems to have received the Lordship of Toeplitz as his share of the great man's possessions.

Is made Field-Marshal, and dies in an action with the Swedes.

Aldringer was nominated Field-Marshal in 1633, and the following year was called upon to defend the passage of the Iser, near Landshut, against the Swedes under Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar. In this affair he met his death. But whether he was drowned in the river, blown up in the castle, or whether he died by a wound from the enemy, or from his own men, or by his own hand, is uncertain, and is differently reported. Nevertheless he was buried with great marks of honour. The Emperor before his death created him a Count of the Empire. He had served His Imperial Majesty most usefully in drawing up all the manifestoes, deductions, justificatory pieces, satires, and invectives, that issued from the Imperial Chancery between 1625—1634. He married the Countess Arco, but left no children. He was a great book collector, and formed a considerable library.

THE PALSGRAVE (CHARLES X.),

A SWEDISH GENERAL.

Born 1622. Died 1660.

His birth, parentage,

PRINCE Charles Gustavus was the son of John Casimir, Prince Palatine of Deuxponts (Zweybrücken), and

Catharine, daughter of Charles IX., and sister of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. Having been born at Nikoping in Sudermanland, he was a Swede by birth, and was brought up in his youth in Sweden near the place of his nativity, and educated at the University of Upsala. He afterwards made the tour of Europe, until, having completed his travels, he was sent to learn the art of war under Torstenson in Germany in 1638, and remained serving with the Swedish armies, in which he acquired great knowledge in the art of war. The Prince was present at the battle of Jankowitz, where he was in great danger, his hat, coat, and shirt having been shot through in several places. He was called back into Sweden before the withdrawal of Torstenson from the post of Generalissimo, in order to prosecute his courtship with his cousin Queen Christina; but she did not particularly fancy him, and called him "the burgomaster sterling," from his short and thick figure, and in the end refused his hand on the plea of her resolution to remain single. Her words in which she signified her refusal are recorded, "I take no account of your person of my own fancy, but only of the security and weal of my country—no other thought is in my mind. I will neither give you hopes, nor deprive you of them; but on the contrary will say this, that I will not give my hand to any one else, and I will seek to declare you my successor on the throne." The Prince was forced to be content with this assurance, and in 1648 returned to Germany as Generalissimo of all the Swedish forces there; but he had scarcely assumed the command, when the Peace of Westphalia terminated hostilities and deprived him of his occupation, consequently he returned to Sweden.

education, and military studies.

The Senate, having resolved to provide for the succession of the crown, proposed in February, 1649, to the Estates of the kingdom, upon the recommendation of the Queen herself, that Prince Charles Gustavus should be nominated the heir to the Swedish throne;

Is declared heir to the Swedish crown: succeeds to it on the abdication

of the Queen.

and this was declared by the Council of State and Estates of Sweden on the 10th March in the same year; but with great judgment the young Prince felt, that if he remained at the Court, he should be a continual subject of jealousy to the Queen, and therefore retired at once into the island of Oeland, in which he had acquired an appanage. This is an island of Sweden, eighty miles long, and separated from the coast of Gothland by a strait twelve miles broad, and is the most perfect independence that could have been selected for a young prince under such circumstances. It possesses fine forests, where deer and roebuck abound, in which he could indulge in the manly excitements of the chase. There are also in the northern portion quarries of excellent freestone, and this afforded His Royal Highness the pleasurable occupation of building and embellishing his palace, and surrounding it with an extensive park wall from shore to shore. It has a good population, for the southern portion of the island is very fertile; and there are alum mines, that occasion trade with the mainland, and the intervening strait offers all the diversions that navigation can afford; consequently it possessed every interest that can attach to a country residence. Here Prince Charles Gustavus fixed his abode for six years, occasionally going to the capital, always kindly received at Court, and taking part in the deliberations of the Senate. When the Queen determined to abdicate in 1649, he publicly opposed the measure with great apparent disinterestedness, which at once won the esteem of Christina, so that when she did actually descend from the throne, the Palsgrave at once attained to the power of her sceptre, without any loss of her favour, and was crowned at Stockholm in 1654.

Invades and makes himself master of Poland.

However much the young Prince had enjoyed the varied occupations of the island of Oeland, he had always longed to renew the excitement of his early campaigns. Accordingly, no sooner did he find himself

a crowned King, than he resolved to pursue its accustomed "pastime," and looked about for an enemy worthy of him. He had a singular reason for going to war that would not very readily occur to our own Chancellor of the Exchequer—that he found the treasury perfectly exhausted, and the people oppressed with taxes. To remedy these evils, Charles proposed to enter upon a war with some neighbouring State—he did not care which. He selected Poland for the field of acquisition and glory, both which he promised himself to obtain from that unhappy kingdom. He advanced from Pomerania with a powerful army, and pursued his march on Krakau without obstruction, all the cities throwing open their gates to him as he approached, and offering to supply his army with all he required. Charles came up with King John Casimir near his capital, and twice defeated him in pitched battles; after which he invested and laid siege to Krakau itself, which in a short time capitulated. Thus in the brief space of three months he made himself master of the entire kingdom of Poland.

Defeats the Russians near Riga: the Prince of Transylvania, marching to his aid, is defeated and slain by the Turks.

But while the King of Sweden was thus employed, the Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, invaded that portion of Poland which was then called Prussia; and in 1656 the Swedes and Brandenburgers came to issue, and the latter were defeated in several slight encounters. But such rapid conquests alarmed all Europe. The Poles obtained the promise of assistance from other States, and rose against the Swedes, massacring in their revolt many thousands of soldiers. Charles immediately marched to chastise them, and defeated an army of 12,000 men under Czarneski. But, finding that he had too much on his hands alone, he gained over the Elector Frederick William by the concession of Prussia. The two sovereigns then turned against the Poles, and defeated them near Warsaw, and again at Philippova. But here the young King came across a more formidable enemy than he had yet en-

countered. The Russians invaded the provinces of Carelia, Ingermania, and Livonia, and the Elector of Brandenburg, finding them an adversary likely to give trouble, began to waver in his attachment to one who had so many enemies. For seven months the Swedes had doubtful success; but at length the Russians were driven out of all the three provinces, and completely defeated before Riga by Charles, who now sought the alliance of Ragotski, Prince of Transylvania, to take the place of the cautious "Great Elector." But on his advancing to the assistance of the Swedes, the Turks, under pretence that, as a vassal of the Grand Signor, the Waivode had no right to invade Poland, fell upon him on the way, routed the army, and killed him.

Charles invades Denmark.

The successes of Charles in Poland soon excited the apprehensions of France, Austria, Holland, and England, and rekindled the jealousy of Denmark. The last of these powers was in consequence instigated by the rest to come to an open rupture with Sweden, and profiting by the few troops and means of defence left behind in Sweden, proceeded to invade the Trans-Kattegat border. Leaving, therefore, the conquest of Poland to his generals, Charles hastily traversed Pomerania and the Duchy of Mecklenburg to defend his possessions, and with astonishing rapidity fell upon Holstein in the month of January, 1658. The King's victorious forces were drawn up on the shore of the Little Belt, whose narrow waters —not above two or three miles wide—were completely bridged with ice. Twenty thousand Swedes boldly advanced in separate columns with Charles at their head across this strait, and in despite of about 4000 Danes, who endeavoured to arrest their march, became at once victorious over the enemy and the elements. The whole island of Funen was reduced in a few days; after which Charles passed onward from island to island till he reached Zeeland, and threatened Copenhagen. The capital was in the greatest consternation—such a daring enterprise had never happened "in the realms of frost."

Within ten days King Frederick V. consented to the conqueror's terms, and preliminaries of peace were signed at the little village of Hago-Testrup, which were afterwards affirmed by the treaty of Roschild on the 12th March, 1658. So humiliating were the conditions imposed upon Denmark, that her plenipotentiary exclaimed, as he affixed his signature to the document, "Would that I had never learned to write!" In commemoration of this remarkable expedition, Charles caused a medal to be struck, with the legend on one side, "Natura hoc debuit uni," in allusion to the rare occurrence of such a frost so early in the season capable of enabling him to overcome the passages of the Great and Little Belt.

Copenhagen threatened: death of the King of Sweden.

The King of Denmark had only made this hasty retreat, however, to get out of his immediate difficulties; and no sooner had King Charles returned to Sweden, than King Frederick began to act in opposition to its terms. On this a Swedish fleet unexpectedly appeared before Copenhagen, to the utter amazement and terror of the Danes. Had the assault upon the capital been given immediately, it would probably have been yielded at once; but King Charles, having been induced to withdraw his fleet to Kioge, about seventeen miles distant, to quiet the alarm of the inhabitants, they recovered courage, and obtained time for their defence. Charles was therefore constrained to convert the attack into a blockade, and sent General Wrangel to reduce the strong fortress of Krönenburg. In the mean while a Dutch fleet advanced to relieve Copenhagen, but it was driven back by the Swedish ships, and all Denmark was in a manner blocked up. King Charles then again returned to Sweden, but was seized with fever at Gottenburg on 13th February, 1660, and died at the early age of thirty-seven.

KING OF HUNGARY

(FERDINAND III.), IMPERIALIST GENERAL.

Born 1608. Died 1657.

His birth and parentage: is appointed to the command of the Imperial army.

THIS Prince was born in 1608; and soon after he had attained his majority he received from his father the Emperor Ferdinand II. the dotation of King of Hungary, which had descended to the House of Hapsburg by the alliance of Ferdinand I. with Anne, the heiress of the kingdom, in 1521. In order to cement his friendship with Spain, at the commencement of the hostilities of the Thirty Years' War, Ferdinand II. married his son to Maria Anna, sister to Philip IV., in 1631. Upon the death of Wallenstein the Imperial army was placed under the supreme command of the King of Hungary, with whom General Gallas was associated; and the first result of the combined commanders, was the great victory of Nordlingen, on 6th of September, 1634, Ferdinand indeed being commander-in-chief, but Gallas being the general. Elected King of the Romans in 1636, by the death of his father, in 1637, he succeeded to the Imperial purple. He inherited, with the throne of Ferdinand II., the principles on which the war had been commenced and carried on; but he had been a closer witness of the sufferings of the people, and of the devastation of his country than his father had been, and was less influenced by Jesuit councillors; consequently he was rendered more amenable to the voice of reason—to the terrible consequences of the war to his state, and the necessity of obtaining peace for the Empire. Meanwhile the war did not carry with it any continuance of success. Gallas, Hatzfeld, and Goetz, with more than one Imperial army, had been in succession worsted.

Von Mercy had been killed at the head of another army. De Werth was made prisoner with another. The French armies who had taken part against him in the quarrel were now commanded by Turenne and Condé, and were combined with the Swedes under Torstenson. Vienna itself was so threatened in 1645, that the Imperial family had been obliged to retire for safety into Styria. Ferdinand III. on this occasion evinced a spirited determination to remain with his Empress, and made a vigorous defence of his capital, which he effectually saved from the Swedish army. He had never commanded an army since Nordlingen, and now becoming severely oppressed with the gout, he gave it over to his brother, the Archduke Leopold, as Generalissimo, and never again took the field in person.

FIELD-MARSHAL COUNT VON GOETZ,

AN IMPERIAL GENERAL.

Born 1599. Killed 1645.

His unknown origin.

LITTLE is known of this commander's origin, but he is said to have been originally from Lunenburg, although there was a celebrated character of the name of Goetz von Berlingen, called "of the iron hand," who was a reputed bold and independent spirit of the sixteenth century, and one who has left behind him memoirs which show him to have been something between a highway robber and a knight. Such a progenitor might have been the sort of ancestor that would have produced the subject of this brief memoir. Singularly enough his career commenced with the "studium des Rechte," yet war was from the first his trade, and the only acknowledged means of livelihood of Von Goetz,

while his constitutional bravery was the sole quality he could boast of for the position of commander. He was one of those characters which Germany produced at this time, under every variety of uniform. In 1615 he became a soldier, and took service under Count Mansfeld; but in 1635 he is found as a colonel in the Emperor's service. At the first period of the Swedish invasion, Goetz had a force of some 8000 men under him in Silesia and Lusatia; but he was forthwith called in and transferred to a superior command in Pomerania; he was at Passewalk on the Ucker, not far from Stettin, when Gustavus Adolphus entered Pomerania, and the detachment he commanded was attacked and driven out of the town by the Swedes. Reinforced by some Imperial regiments, he returned and surprised his foe, who was re-expelled from Passewalk. Colonel Goetz immediately exacted from the town a contribution of 18,000 thalers. The magistracy represented that the inhabitants had been put to such cost by the successive contributions of the two contending forces, that they were almost reduced to the extremity of famine, and could not pay the money. The Burgomaster and several members of the town council were immediately seized by the orders of Goetz, bound hands and feet together, and sent away to Gatz, while Passewalk was given up to indiscriminate plunder, accompanied by unheard of atrocities. We hear of Goetz next as a General in command of a force that was defeated by the Swedes in 1632, where he was obliged to surrender an important post on disadvantageous terms to the Swedish General, Dewbatel. In 1633 he was made a Baron of the Empire and appointed a General of the Emperor; and in 1634 he received the command of an army in Silesia, but was driven out of that province by the Swedes. In 1634 he commanded the right wing of the Imperial army at Nordlingen, and for his conduct in the victory had the title of Count conferred upon him.

Surprises the Swedes at Passewalk, and sacks that town.

In 1638 Goetz is spoken of as Field-Marshal of the Empire, and as having been surprised by the Swedish General Taupadel[3] at Benfeld, when marching against Duke Bernhard of Weimar and Marshal Guebriant to raise the siege of Breysach; he was at this time associated in the command of the Imperialists with Duke Savelli, and they, having rallied their forces, in turn routed and took prisoner Taupadel, who had ventured too far in pursuit. Goetz certainly commanded the force which afterwards advanced against Bernhard, in a last attempt to relieve Breysach. The same year he commanded with Von Gallas in a futile attempt to take Baner in a sack at Torgau and Landsberg. In the following year he served in Hungary against Ragotski, and forced him to raise the siege of St. Andreas; but in 1645 he was hastily recalled from this command in Hungary to oppose Torstenson in Silesia.

Battle of Jankowitz: Goetz is defeated by the Swedes, and slain in action.

The most important event of the career of Field-Marshal Goetz was his last campaign. Torstenson, the Generalissimo of the Swedes, was reported to be marching to the relief of Olmütz, then besieged by an Austrian army. Hatzfeld, who commanded in chief the Imperial forces in Silesia, resolved to bar the march of

[3] No name in the history of the Thirty Years' War has been so puzzling as this warrior's, who figures in it as Dewbatel, Tupadel, Dubalt, Duwalt, &c., and after all he has been claimed as the son of a Scotch father by a woman of Leifland. He had been a private in the Swedish royal guard, but having obtained the favour of Gustavus, rose to the rank of its Colonel. Being taken prisoner at Nuremberg, Wallenstein generously dismissed him without ransom; and this happened to him a second time, when he was surprised by the Duke of Friedland with the Swedish army in Bohemia. He afterwards rose high in the favour of the Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, who made him his Sergeant-Major-General; but, forgetting the obligations he owed to his deceased master Gustavus Adolphus, he deserted to his enemies, leaving a sad example that the brave man and the man of honour are not always united in the same person. (*Harte.*)

the enemy by the occupation of the Steinberg; but, on receiving from Colonel Sporck, who commanded his out-post cavalry advance, a report that Torstenson was marching in the direction of Janikau, Hatzfeld hastened his march, and, uniting with Field-Marshal Goetz, reached the place before the enemy, where he immediately occupied the height, leaving the small town of Janikau outside his position. This was on 23rd February. The Imperialists in position numbered about 20,000; the Swedes were not above 16,000. Here was fought, on the 24th, one of the most remarkable battles of the whole contest, which has been called the battle of Jankowitz, and which afforded a picture of good warlike combinations, under the most excellent discipline and manœuvring of both the Imperialist and Swedish Generals. On the left flank of the Imperial position stood a chapel upon a mountain. This post was entrusted to Von Goetz, with directions to keep his eye firm from that height upon the whole country with the utmost vigilance. The Swede saw and coveted this important key to the enemy's position, and at break of day, under a heavy cannonade, Torstenson boldly ordered it to be assaulted. But, whether Von Goetz was surprised, or whether he was unequal to the task of defence and lacked the talent requisite for a tactician, be it as it may, he was overwhelmed by the Swedes before he had made any preparation to receive them. The Field-Marshal, however, as soon as he saw it in possession of the enemy, all at once recognized the importance which his chief, Hatzfeld, had attached to his occupation of the chapel, and, trusting merely to an excess of courage, without making proper disposition, or even sending forward skirmishers to feel his way, he made a dash for its recovery, moved off "full drive" to the attack, and became so entangled in the wood and low ground, that neither his cavalry nor infantry could deploy, so that, after blundering into a most disadvantageous forma-

tion, leaving his men packed together without any order, exposed to a plunging fire from the Swedish artillery, he was, after a contest of eight hours, struck dead on the field by two balls. The natural consequence of such a state of things was the immediate dissolution of his entire *corps d'armée*. Deprived of their commander, and thoroughly disorganized, they at once took to heedless flight, and by the admission of Hatzfeld the Generalissimo, in his report to the Emperor, were "thoroughly beaten." The Austrians left 4309 dead and wounded on the field, and 4118 officers and men prisoners, including Hatzfeld himself, the Commander-in-Chief. Nearly 100 colours, 26 guns, and all the ammunition and baggage also fell into the hands of the victors as trophies. On the 1st of April, 1645, the body of Field-Marshal Goetz was carried to Prague, and interred in the Church of St. Germans with all honours. The character of this commander has not lived in the respect of history, for it is said to be a proverb in Bohemia to this day of any "impostor" in the art of war, "He may succeed as well as Goetz."

COMTE DE GUEBRIANT,

A FRENCH MARSHAL.

Born 1602. Died 1643.

His birth, parentage, and early service under Duke Bernhard: is made Field-Marshal.

THIS General was the son of the Baron de Budes, and was born at his Chateau at Plessis-Budes in Bretagne. He was a younger son of his family, which was of old extraction but poor; and therefore our hero entered with all zeal and energy in the endeavour to elevate himself in the military career. His first service

was in Holland, and he was afterwards in the expedition sent against the Huguenots in Languedoc, where he was at the sieges of Alet and Vigau, before which latter fortress he received a dangerous gun-shot wound in the cheek; but he fortunately recovered from it, and was named Captain for his conduct. In 1632 he had the good fortune to be received into the King's guard in the same rank, and served with them in Germany with great distinction. In 1635 he served in the army of Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, and obtained the rank of Maréchal-de-Camp. In 1636 he led a detached force into Franche-Comté, but again returned to the army of Duke Bernhard, with whom he had contracted a firm friendship. He served under him with distinction at the battle of Rheinfelden in 1638, and afterwards in the siege of Breysach. After Duke Bernhard's death, he disagreed with the Swedish General Baner, and this want of concert between the French and Swedish armies in 1641 was productive of disastrous results.

Defeats the Imperialists at Wolfenbüttel, and at Mordingen: his death, and character.

In a short time, however, he evinced so much readiness to assist the Swedes with the troops under his command, that he contracted a warm friendship with Baner, and accompanied him in his somewhat wild expedition to seize the person of the Emperor in the Diet at Ratisbon. Shortly after that enterprise Baner died, and Guebriant assumed the command of the Confederate army, and obtained a victory over the Imperialists at the battle of Wolfenbüttel on the 29th June, 1641. But although the French and Weimar soldiers stood by him in that action, the Swedish contingent, being without any chief while awaiting the arrival of Torstenson (who was appointed to succeed Baner as Generalissimo), in consequence behaved badly in the action, and Guebriant could gain no advantage from his victory. In 1642 he was appointed by his King Lieutenant-General, and with a more homogeneous army he prepared to take up his winter-quarters in the Electorate of

Cologne. Here he found himself opposed by an Imperial army under Hatzfeld, confederated with the Electoral forces under Lamboy, who attacked him near Kempen on the 17th January, 1642, when he gained a complete victory, and took the Cologne General Lamboy prisoner, with 4000 of his men; after which he took possession of the entire Electorate. This success not only obtained for him great reputation, but the high honour of Marshal of France.

Is killed at Rothweil: his character.

The Marshal had now imposed upon him the task of the defence of his conquest, and setting himself vigorously to oppose Hatzfeld, he overran Hesse, and entered Thuringia, in order to aid Torstenson, who was nearly overpowered in Saxony. The successes of Mercy and John de Werth in Baden called Marshal de Guebriant back to the Rhine, and he passed the summer of 1642 in assisting at the siege of Thionville, and took up his winter-quarters in Alsace. In 1643 the Prince de Condé assumed the superior command of the army; but when that renowned Prince quitted it, the Marshal, on the 7th November, sat down before Rothweil. Here he received a serious wound in the trenches on the 17th, just as the assault was about to be given. He was very much discomposed at the necessity of quitting the field, and accordingly addressed his army, saying,—"That his wound was unimportant, excepting that it prevented him from leading them up the breach, but that he would look on, and take note of every man's service." The place was taken, but, his wound getting worse, he died on the 24th. Although Marshal of France, he had only attained the early age of forty-one. His body was removed to Paris by order of the King, and he was buried at Notre Dame with funeral honours. Voltaire sums up his character in these few words:—"Guebriant avait eu de petits succès, mais toujours balancés par des pertes. Les grandes batailles qui ébranlait les états, et qui restent à jamais dans la mémoire des hommes, n'avaient été livrées en ce tems."

Although the historian goes on to claim "le respect qu'on avait en Europe pour les armées Espagnoles se tourna du côté des armeés Françaises," yet in truth Guebriant is the only respectable French commander who appeared between the years 1600—1650. The great school of Maurice of Nassau, and of Gustavus Adolphus, effected more for the advance of military prowess than all the braggadocio of Spain, or the self-gratulation of France.

Character of La Maréchale de Guebriant.

The Marshal married in 1632 Renata Von Beck, daughter of the Marquis de Nardes, whose brother's wife was a natural daughter of Henry IV., which brought her into a sort of relationship with the Bourbons. She was an ambitious woman, and, it is said, broke off an early engagement to gratify the desire of her soul to be Maréchale, which the wits of the day said she had earned by a double title,—for that her own merit was as great as that of her husband whom she survived. La Maréchale de Guebriant has, however, a specific history of her own as one of the most renowned diplomatists that ever wore a petticoat. She was selected by Louis XIV. to accompany the affianced bride of Ladislaus IV., King of Poland, who had been married by proxy at Paris; but the bride, Princess Mary of Gonzaga, had acquired a full share of scandal in the French capital, having, as it was said, given her heart, if not her person, to the celebrated Cinq Mars. This report had preceded her to Poland, and the King, on her arrival, absolutely refused to consummate the marriage. It has been said, that the French King anticipating the difficulty had given La Maréchale de Guebriant letters of credence from His Majesty to King Ladislaus; but at any rate, she acted with all the powers of an Ambassador, and took up the cudgels bravely for the Queen Consort, for she managed not only to overcome all the King's prejudices and to bring the happy couple together, but gained the royal favour to such a degree, that His Majesty gave orders that "Her Ex-

cellency" should be treated with the same honours at Court as had been extended to the Austrian Archduchess, when she brought the King her daughter, his first consort, to the Polish capital; and she is the only lady who claimed and received in her own right all the honorary distinction to which an Ambassador has claim. She continued to take some part in public affairs after her return to the French capital, and, as her husband having previously to his death had some share in obtaining possession of Breysach, she went thither in 1652 to stipulate for France that it should be included within her boundaries, and she succeeded in effecting that object. She died in 1659, having never had children.

COUNT MELCHIOR VON HATZFELD,

IMPERIALIST GENERAL.

Born 1593. Died 1658.

Is successively opposed, with varied fortunes, to Baner, Turenne, and the King of Sweden.

THIS officer was born at Crottorf, and entered very young into the Imperial service, and was a General of some repute, who commanded Imperial armies in affairs of more or less consequence throughout the war with very questionable ability. Very little is known, however, of his early career; but after the Peace of Prague he comes forward in story as Commander of one of the Emperor's armies. He was, however, defeated by the Swedish General Baner at the battle of Wittstock. In 1638 he was defeated by Baner at Chemnitz in Saxony, but on the other hand in this last year he completely routed the young Princes Palatine, Rupert and Maurice, in an affair near Lemgo. In the following year, 1639, he commanded the army of Bavaria in Thuringia and Westphalia with some success.

In 1643, however, he was ordered to oppose the French armies under Turenne, and had a considerable share in the victory over that renowned Marshal at Duttlingen. In 1644 he took Halberstadt and Osterwiek, and was subsequently associated with Von Mercy in the command of the Imperial army on the Rhine; and he was with him at Freyberg. When, however, Torstenson threatened to overrun Bohemia and the hereditary States, the Emperor sent Hatzfeld to command an army to check the ravages of the Swedes, and here he was unfortunately led to give battle to the enemy at Jankowitz, or Janikau, on the 5th March, 1645, where he was routed with tremendous slaughter, and taken prisoner.

In 1657 we again hear of him after the close of the Thirty Years' War in command of an army against Charles Gustavus, King of Sweden, in Poland, where he gained a doubtful victory over the Swedish troops at Kracow. This was his last service, for he died the following year at Powitzko, near Trachenberg, and is buried at Landerbach, where a fine alabaster monument is erected to his memory.

DODON DE KNIPHAUSEN,

A SWEDISH GENERAL.

Born 1582. Died 1635-6.

Siege of Colbergen: defeat of the Imperialists.

THIS commander was a Dutchman by birth, and was born 1582; but about the age of fifty he is found in the service of Gustavus Adolphus. He was an approved officer, and high in favour with the King, who already made him Governor of the fort of Pennemund on his landing in the island of Usedom in June, 1630. In

September he was sent with Bauditzen[4] to form the blockade of Colbergen. The character of the man was shown in the directions he on this occasion gave to Monro (Dugald Dalgetty) as to the town and castle of Scheifelbein:—"Maintain the town as long as you can; but do not give up the castle while a single man remains alive with you." Ernest de Montecuculi (uncle of the great Raymond) had been sent with 10,000 men to raise the siege of Colbergen, where Kniphausen held the chief command of the blockade, with Bauditzen under him at the head of the cavalry, and Baron Teuffel[5] conducted the infantry. A peasant brought

[4] Baudissen, or Baudis. This officer was of Danish extraction, and made his first service in his native country's army. He was, however, a Swedish Colonel in 1625, and served in 1628 under Gustavus as a General of cavalry in Poland, and again on his landing in Germany, where he was taken prisoner in an affair with Tilly, but soon recovered his liberty. He is recorded to have been a man of great courage, cool in reflection, and brave in execution; but in money matters he was of a low, rapacious temper. In the command of a column entrusted to his orders when on a march through Franconia, he is supposed to have contrived to have put £5000 into his pocket. But when the King heard this, he said, "There was no reason why the science of war should not be carried out on humane and liberal principles, and he would ever draw the line between a hero and a ruffian." His Majesty at once removed Bauditzen to a more remote command in Pomerania. It is not recorded what became of all the wealth that he accumulated, for afterwards making war in Holstein, he picked up a wife with a fortune of £16,000! He died 1650.

[5] The name of Teuffel (The Devil) is believed to have been a *nom de guerre* of the Baron of Gindersdorf and Weyersburg, who was by birth a German, but on some disgust had quitted the Imperial and adopted the Swedish service. He was with Gustavus in his Polish wars, and was about the royal person at the siege of Frankfort on the Oder on the 2nd April, 1631, where reconnoitring the Guben-gate, the Baron was struck by a musket-shot in his left arm at the King's side, and it is reported that His Majesty exclaimed, "Alas! now Teuffel is disabled, what shall I do?" He was subsequently killed at the battle of Leipzig. It was a common saying with the German wits, that no wonder Gustavus Adolphus counterworked his enemies, when he

in intelligence that the two armies were within a short distance of each other; and it was suggested that the Imperialists should be attacked. But Kniphausen, who was a man of as much calmness as valour, gave his opinion, "that a midnight battle is always a tumultuous and indecisive affair, for that they neither knew the strength, position, nor amount of watchfulness in the enemy." The adversary, however, as soon as he discovered the nearness of the Swedish army, marched away in the night, having set their camp on fire. The Swedes therefore were instantly sent in pursuit, and at eight o'clock in the morning came up with the Imperialists on a large heath, where, in consequence of some of their carriages having broken down, they were stopped in their retreat. The order of attack was at once given by Kniphausen, when the Croatians hastily fled, and Bauditzen was despatched after them. In the interval one of the thickest fogs sprung up that ever had been known, and the enemy's infantry were involved in obscurity, but, finding themselves neglected by their horse allies, asked for terms; but, while they were in discussion, Kniphausen returned from the pursuit of the Croatians, and, not being aware of what was going on, and unable to distinguish friend from foe, attacked the Imperialists with his wonted resolution. These, suspecting treachery, at once formed Burgundian squares, and opened a furious and continuous fire upon the Swedes. Bauditzen nevertheless broke the squares with his cavalry, but these, in the confusion, got amongst the Swedish infantry, and a dreadful carnage and scuffle ensued, and, under favour of the mist and the mistake, the Imperialists got away with comparatively little loss.

His brave but fruit-

Gustavus Adolphus subsequently confided to Kniphausen the defence of New Brandenburg with a garrison

had under his command General Todt and General Teuffel (Death and the Devil).

of 2000 selected troops; but there was not a gun mounted on the walls of the fortress. Kniphausen was a soldier of slow but excellent parts, and was looked upon as an officer that might be relied upon in any emergency, for it was his maxim, "to leave nothing to fortune;" so that when others prospered by good luck he would say, "A dram of luck may sometimes succeed sooner than an ounce of sense; but it is against military obedience." The King now sent him orders to retire from New Brandenburg and save his men; but the messenger unluckily fell into Tilly's hands, and Kniphausen, concluding from the King's silence that it was his pleasure that he should hold the place under every disadvantage, refused honourable conditions when the Imperial General proposed them. The guns of the enemy accordingly opened against the place with as much fury as was ever known, and a breach was soon made in the walls. But the rampart was found too high for the scaling ladders, and an entrance could not be made until chance and temerity effected it. The young Raymond de Montecuculi, then in his twenty-third year, seeing Tilly on the eighth day of the siege reconnoitring the lines, induced some soldiers in the trench to follow him in a hazardous dash, and having rushed into the town he got and held possession of it. Kniphausen with his lady and family threw themselves into the town-house, where he held out for a short time and obtained quarter, but became prisoner. He was ultimately ransomed, and the King made him Governor of Nuremberg in 1632; and when he introduced him to the inhabitants, he said, laying his hand on the General's shoulder, "Gentlemen, this man defended a walled village against all the efforts of Tilly." He was with Gustavus Adolphus at the battle of Lutzen, and passed the previous night with the King in His Majesty's coach. After the King's death, the Chancellor Oxenstierna allotted the command of the larger division of the army, amounting to 12,000 men, to the

less defence of New Brandenburg: his death.

joint command of the Duke George of Luneburg and Kniphausen, now created Field-Marshal. These two chiefs did not keep very good terms together, nevertheless they made progress, for they swept the enemy out of Northern Westphalia, crossed the Weser and besieged Hameln, when, on the 28th June, 1633, General Gronsfeld, with his confederate Count Merode, advancing to the relief of that town, was utterly routed in an affair near Hessisch-Oldendorf. Kniphausen finished this success by a brilliant charge with the Swedish cavalry, in which the natural son of the King, Gustave Gustaveson, who had been placed here under Kniphausen, saw his first service. It is related, that in this charge a Secretary of Count Gronsfeld was taken prisoner, who had on him the General's portfolio of despatches, and so little had the French language been cultivated in Sweden, that Gustave Gustaveson was the only one that could be found to read and translate them for his General. Kniphausen was killed when fighting against the Austrian General Geleen, whom he had previously beaten off the field on New Year's day, 1636, at Haselünen in Westphalia[6].

JOHN CHRISTOPHER COUNT DE KŒNIGSMARK,

A SWEDISH GENERAL.

Born 1600. Died 1663.

His birth and early services: capture of Prague.

THIS officer was born at Brandenburg, in Germany, and made his earliest campaigns in the Austrian army; but he entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus in 1630. The King is said to have appreciated his mili-

[6] Schiller; Geiger; Menzel; Militair-Conversations-Lexikon.

tary talents, and employed him on many important enterprises. He is not, however, named as holding any command in the Swedish army either at Leipzig or Lutzen, but probably served at both in a subordinate rank. After the King's death he served in Westphalia in 1635, where he carried himself with equal courage and ability, but he was unfortunately made prisoner in a skirmish, and had to free himself by a heavy ransom. In the following year he was entrusted with the governorship of several fortresses in succession, and was besieged by Goetz in Lemgo, but was constrained to surrender that place by capitulation. In 1638 we find him serving in Baner's army as Major-General, and he was present at the battle of Chemnitz. He was sent by Baner in 1641 to negotiate with the French army, that it should unite with the troops of Sweden. But while he was absent on this duty he heard of the death of Baner at Halberstadt, and that he was one of the Committee of Generals who were to hold the command till the arrival of Torstenson. Accordingly he repaired to join forthwith the army, when he found the soldiers giving themselves up to pillage and insubordination, and he resolutely aided the other generals in bringing back that army to discipline. Kœnigsmark assisted Guebriant in the victory at Wolfenbüttel, and shared in all the glories of the succeeding campaigns under Torstenson, displaying on every occasion the most active zeal and brilliant valour. He accompanied Torstenson into Silesia in 1642, and commanded the left wing of the Swedish army at the battle of Breitenfeld. He became a Lieutenant-General in 1644, and held some independent commands in Westphalia, until called back by Torstenson into Silesia. He is called by Menzel "the boldest robber of his day," for that he "devastated the Eichsfeld." When "the Weimar brigade," which, after the Duke's death, had entered the French service under Turenne, deserted the French standard, and revolted to the Swedes, they were placed

under the orders of Kœnigsmark, who is recognized "as the most efficient partisan on the Swedish side in this war." With this force he took part in the battle of Zusmarshausen, where he surrounded and cut down a portion of the Imperialists, which was indeed the principal incident of that so-called battle. Some disagreement at this time arose between Wrangel and Kœnigsmark, when they separated, and the latter marched away with his Weimar men into Bohemia. Here he had the good fortune to close the bloody events of the Thirty Years' War with one of its boldest and most brilliant achievements. Ernest Odowalsky, a disbanded captain from the Imperial service, laid before him a plan for surprising the city of Prague. He, in consequence of this information, appeared unexpectedly before that city, and partly by treachery, and partly by surprise, got possession of the Neustadt; but the Altstadt continued to be bravely defended by Rudolf de Coloredo, who stoutly held out against all Kœnigsmark's attempts to get possession of it, and indeed maintained the most vigorous resistance against the subsequent endeavours to capture it by the young Palsgrave, who assembled the whole Swedish army before its walls at the conclusion of the war. Kœnigsmark, however, besides the glory of his success in these exploits, obtained from the loot of the city a valuable collection of paintings, many of them very fine ones by Correggio, together with many precious *objets d'art.* But the most valuable article that fell to his hands; was the manuscript of the celebrated Bible of Ulphilas, called the *Codex Argenteus*, which is yet preserved in the library of Upsala in Sweden. Kœnigsmark was summoned to the coronation of Queen Christina, and was made a Councillor and General-in-Chief, receiving at the same time the Lordships of Wester Wyk and Stegholm, as the appanage to the title of Count, to which honour he was also elevated. He accompanied King Charles X. in 1654, when he made his first war

upon Poland; but in 1656, when navigating the Baltic, he was made prisoner near Dantzig. He remained a prisoner for four years, but was restored to liberty by the Peace of Oliva in 1660, and resumed his former government; but he returned to Sweden in 1662, and died at Stockholm in 1663 under some surgical operation. His military talents descended to his son Otho William of Kœnigsmark, who was employed after his father's death in diplomatic missions to England and France, and served in the army of the Prince of Orange at Maestricht and Senef. He subsequently entered the service of the Republic of Venice in 1686, and commanded its armies against the Turks in Greece, when he took Athens. A monument exists to his honour at Venice as "the ever-victorious Generalissimo of the Venetian land forces." It is sometimes necessary to note the actions of a man's successor, as they might otherwise confuse the reader of history.

THE ARCHDUKE LEOPOLD WILLIAM,

IMPERIAL COMMANDER.

Born 1614. Died 1662.

His birth and education: ecclesiastical preferments.

THIS officer was the second son of the Emperor Ferdinand II., and younger brother to Ferdinand III. He was educated by the Jesuits, and imbibed from them and from his father a singular amount of superstition and bigotry. He acquired a taste for the science of botany, and made collections of paintings, curiosities, and rare plants, in the cultivation of the arts; but, from a principle of mortification he denied himself the gratification of smelling at his flowers, and, from rigid notions of continence, he shunned even the society of his own sisters. He devoted himself to the ecclesiastical profession, and

to such a pious observance of it, that the courtiers of Vienna called him "an angel," and believed, or affected to believe, that his prayers possessed a peculiar sanctity. A son of an Emperor was not likely to live solely upon celestial food, and accordingly preferment was heaped upon him in an overwhelming measure. Before he was eleven years of age he had the double Bishoprics of Strasburg and Passau conferred upon him, and was Abbot of the rich foundations of Mauerbach and Nieders. Before he was sixteen years of age he received from the Pope three other Sees, which, however, were held only *in commendam*, but he was made by the Emperor Administrator of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg, and it was intended to have procured for His Imperial Highness in process of time the Archbishopric of Bremen. He was also Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, so that the income he was supposed to derive from these united appointments has been rated at £150,000 a year.

Appointed Generalissimo of the Imperial army: defence of Vienna.

But neither his sanctity, nor the disadvantage of a weak frame, prevented him from exchanging the crosier for the sword in defence of his brother's Empire, and he appears with just distinction among the "warriors" of the Thirty Years' War. He accepted the office of Generalissimo of the Imperial forces, when Vienna was threatened by Torstenson. The scions of the house of Hapsburg have never shrunk from danger in defence of their country, and the Archduke evinced the greatest bravery and activity in the successful defence of the Wolfsbrück, near the capital, from which he obliged the renowned Swedish General to withdraw. Leopold William undismayed summoned the Swedish garrison to surrender the tête-de-pont, and on their refusal, three large vessels full of soldiers advanced and carried the work by assault, under the fire of the batteries. On the day following its surrender the Emperor returned to his capital. The Archduke then repaired to Presburg, where great preparations had been made to enable His Imperial Highness to take the field in force against Ra-

FRANZ VON MERCY,

A BAVARIAN GENERAL.

Died 1645.

His birth and early promotion: defeats the French under Guebriant.

THIS distinguished officer was a native of Longwy in Lorraine, but the date of his birth is unknown, and his family is believed to have been obscure. He entered the career of arms when quite young, and took service with the Elector of Bavaria, who advanced him to the rank of General. He served with distinction in the earlier campaigns of the Thirty Years' War, and was Oberstwachtmeister under Piccolomini at the battle of Leipzig in 1631. He was subsequently made prisoner by the French, but was speedily exchanged. He served against the troops of Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar in 1634 near Rheinfelden, and from 1635—1637 he became General Wachtmeister with the Bavarian army. In 1641 he received an independent command with the Electoral troops in the Lower Palatinate, where he was opposed to the Duke de Longueville, and subsequently against Baner, whose rear-guard of four regiments under Schlange he successfully cut off near Waldenburg. In 1643 a French army under Marshal Guebriant laid siege to Rothweil on the Neckar, just below the Black Forest, and had got possession of it, when Mercy on the 18th November came suddenly upon the French army, and, after a conflict in which Guebriant was wounded, recaptured Rothweil. Mercy afterwards proceeded against Neberlingen, a fortress situated on a high rock overlooking the Lake of Constance, which he also captured.

Total rout of the French.

After these successes Mercy, with the Bavarian army combining with an Imperial army under Hatzfeld and De Werth, took up cantonments for the winter in the environs of Tutlingen, where, Marshal Guebriant having died of his wounds, the French army was placed under

the command of the Marshal de Rantzau at Möhringen upon the opposite bank in the immediate neighbourhood. De Werth had a particular talent for all enterprises of a partisan character, and proposed to the Duke of Lorraine, who was Generalissimo of the German army, to make a raid upon the enemy. Information had been received from spies that the French acted as though they thought themselves perfectly secure in their cantonments, and were freely taking their enjoyment, conceiving themselves protected, as they always do, from any interference during the severity of winter. Accordingly, at daybreak on the 24th November, De Werth, with his advance of cavalry leading the Austrian and Bavarian forces, debouched from the forest in the midst of a tremendous fall of snow, and made a dash at the Chateau de Homberg on an adjacent height, which was successfully carried after a feeble resistance. The French, however, resisted stoutly in and about Möhringen during one whole day and night, but on the morning of 25th all the generals and troops surrendered at discretion to the Imperialists. The French were vanquished without having been able to fire a cannon, for the whole park of artillery had been captured at the very first surprise.

Mercy is appointed Generalissimo: takes Hohentweil.

This was almost the greatest success that had been experienced by the Imperialists since Nordlingen, and as being gained over the French, was calculated to be more highly valued. The military science evinced by Mercy in his share of this transaction was rewarded by his appointment to be Generalissimo, and he forthwith initiated his new command by blockading Hohentweil, a fortress standing on a mountain a few miles to the north of Schaffhausen. In the month of May, 1644, Mercy laid siege to Freiburg, in the Brisgau. The famous Turenne, recently created Marshal of France, was sent with 10,000 men to intercept this operation, and had crossed the Rhine, at New Breisach, before Mercy could complete his arrangements. Nevertheless,

he could not save Hohentweil, which was looked upon as a place of great importance.

Desperate, but indecisive action between the Bavarians and the French: Mercy is forced to retreat.

The Court then sent down the young Duke d'Enghien, the recent conqueror of Rocroy, to take the command of the army in Germany, in supercession of Turenne. The French now numbered 20,000 men, under their greatest generals, against Mercy, who had but 15,000; but these last were situated in a position almost impregnable, and the camp, placed among mountains, woods, and marshes, was thick set with redoubts, abattis, and *chevaux-de-frise*, on every side. The two French chiefs could not agree as to the course to be taken against the enemy; and while one seconded a flank attack, the other resolved on a front one. Accordingly Turenne carried his army by the former course, and the young Condé boldly crossed the Rhine on the 3rd August, and, calculating that Turenne would reach the ground at five that evening, he boldly led them forward against Mercy's camp. A terrible action ensued. Mercy was overwhelmed, but did not think of flight. The night was dark, the rain fell in torrents, and he heard from the top of the mountains the drums and trumpets that announced Turenne's approach to join Condé. Accordingly he took advantage of a moment passed by the French in their self-congratulations to withdraw his troops to the Black Mountain, and there, on the following day, he successfully repulsed every attack. The French had scarcely awaited the rising of the sun to attack on the morning of the 5th, and the battle continued the whole day; but against the steady firmness of the Bavarians all the impetuous valour of the French was exerted in vain. The success remained uncertain, and at night the Duke d'Enghien withdrew his troops. These were the three days of Freiburg, and it was no small honour to Mercy that he had set at nought, if he could not drive away, the two greatest generals of France. But Mercy was too much enfeebled by his victory to derive any good results from it: so

that after resting for four days in his position, he thought he could retreat with honour on the 9th. D'Enghien, however, had the eye, as well as the features of an eagle, and no sooner did he see "the bold Bavarian" withdraw his troops, than he formed the design to cut off his retreat. The Count De Rosen, with 800 cavalry, was sent to head the column; but Mercy, watching his time, fell unawares upon him, and drove him back. Fresh troops were, however, speedily sent down, and now Mercy had no other resource but a headlong retreat, in which all his artillery and baggage were sacrificed.

Mercy encounters the French under Turenne, near Mergentheim.

Mercy's reputation, however, did not suffer from the reverse he thus experienced. He repaired his losses and evacuated Suabia, but finding provisions were no longer to be procured there, he retired to the valley of the Maine, where, it is recorded, "he garrisoned the *Bergstrasse*," by which, I understand, is meant, that his army held all the mountain passes (Vogelsberg, &c.) on the confines of Westphalia. Condé and Turenne now separated, the former to receive some idle incense from the Court, and to give himself up to all the intrigues and amours of a French capital, and the latter to do the duties of a soldier; but Mercy was obliged to weaken his army, through the necessity of detaching 4000 men into Bohemia. Several skirmishes, with various success on either side, opened the spring of 1645. But Turenne, taking the offensive, levied contributions on Wurzburg and Nuremberg, and, after a time of considerable activity the French Marshal sought to give his wearied troops some repose in the Mariendahl. In this neighbourhood is the famous castle of Newenhaus, near Mergentheim, which, situated on the Kitzberg, was an ancient residence of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order; and while the Marshal here established his head-quarters, there was a number of small villages which offered good entertainment for man and horse, although with some dispersion of quarters. The

French are a light-hearted people, who readily give themselves up to pleasure, and to wine and women, with the recklessness of thorough soldiers. Mercy had sufficiently studied their character, and determined on giving them a *camisado*, at two in the morning, on the 5th May (25th April). The surprise was complete. Turenne could only muster some 3000 men in his castle, who, when they saw themselves outnumbered, ran for their lives, and the Marshal, taken completely by surprise, had no resource but to order a general retreat, in which he lost great part of his infantry, 1200 horses, all his cannon, and all his baggage, while the rest of the French made their way with some difficulty into the Duchy of Hesse, whither the victorious Bavarians pursued them.

Mercy is slain in action.

Turenne now experienced the additional mortification of a notice from Cardinal Mazarin that he should undertake no further military operation until the arrival of d'Enghien, who had been sent by the king to retrieve the disaster in the Mariendahl. The young Duke, on receiving His Majesty's commands, hastened with considerable succours out of Alsace, and was joined on his road by the Swedish division under Kœnigsmark. Mercy accordingly withdrew immediately before him to the extreme limits of Suabia. But nothing could resist the impetuosity of the young Prince, who overtook them at Allersheim, near Nordlingen, on the 3rd August. The affair was extremely bloody. Mercy directed the contest like a great general, and fought it like a brave soldier. He is related, however, to have displayed with his determined courage some of the foolhardiness of a rash soldier; for, believing himself to be on the eve of a certain triumph, while drawn up and awaiting the attack of the French, he called for wine, and drank, in succession, forty glasses before the troops. Then he embraced his wife, who was by his side, and in a transport of joy exclaimed, "There is the sweetest kiss I ever gave you in my life. Do you see those foolhardy

Frenchmen? God has delivered them into my hands. Victory is ours!" with this exclamation on his lips he was struck down by a cannon-ball, and fell in the midst of his troops, and by the side of his wife. General Geleen, his second in command, was very soon afterwards taken prisoner. These incidents affected the issue of the battle, which was, nevertheless, toughly fought out by the Bavarian army, until the skill of Turenne, and the iron firmness of the Hessian troops, decided the fate of the day against the Imperial army. Mercy died the next day, and was interred on the field of battle with this celebrated inscription, "STA, VIATOR, HEROEM CALCAS[8]."

His character.

Franz von Mercy has received the name of "great" from Schiller and from others, and would seem to deserve it better than some of his antagonists. Scarcely two years elapsed between Rothweil and the fatal field on which he now fell, and in that short period he had successfully opposed the best troops of Europe, and the greatest Marshals of France, at Tuttlingen, Freiburg, Mergentheim, as now at Allersheim. His glory was revived in his son, who also lies enshrined on the battle-field.

[8] This inscription has been perpetually criticized; but it must have merit, since it is quoted by every one who names Von Mercy; yet I think it turgid and bombastic, and I agree with Rousseau that it says nothing. An inscription should not be merely terse, it should either awaken enthusiastic patriotism, like the celebrated Greek one at Thermopylæ, or it should "point a moral." This can scarcely be said of the stone at Allersheim, where the appeal, "Take care not to trample on a hero," mentions neither his name, nor his country, nor his deeds. "Instead of saying that one was a hero, the ancients would have recorded what he had done to make himself a hero." A military monument, if it means any thing, should convey this sentiment, "pour encourager les autres:" The Sovereign in whose service Von Mercy freely shed his blood never had either the gratitude or the right feeling to inscribe his name on marble or brass, and his bones rest 'amid the ignoble slain' on the field of Allersheim.

LIST OF BATTLES, 1600—1650.

1600. Battle of Nieuport won by Prince Maurice of Nassau over the Archduke Albert.
1603. Naval battle of Sluys, the Dutch over the Spanish under Frederick Spinola, who was killed in the action.
1604. The capture of Ostend, the Marquis Spinola over Prince Maurice.
1607. Naval battle of Gibraltar, the Dutch under Admiral Heemskirk over the Spanish under Davila.
1617. The siege of Plesko, or Pskof, and consequent battle won by Gustavus Adolphus over the Czar.
1620. Battle of the Weissenberg won by Tilly over the Elector King, who lost his crown there.
1621. Siege of Riga, Gustavus Adolphus over Radzivil.
1622. Siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, Prince Maurice over Marquis Spinola.
— Battle of Minglesheim won by Tilly over Mansfeld.
— Battle of Wimpffen won by Tilly over the Margrave George Frederick.
— Combat of Hoechst, Tilly over Duke Christian of Brunswick.
1623. Capture of Breda by Marquis Spinola over Prince Maurice.
— Combat of Stadtholm won by Tilly over Duke Christian of Brunswick.
1625. The battle of Semigallia by Gustavus Adolphus over Leo Sapieha.
— Combat of Stolzenau by the Duke of Saxe Weimar over Tilly.
1626. The action at Dessau, Wallenstein over Mansfeld.
— Combat of Lutter, Tilly over King Christian IV. of Denmark.
— Battle of Komorn, Wallenstein over Mansfeld.

1629. Siege of Casal, Marquis Spinola over the Duke de Nevers.
1631. Siege of Magdeburg, Tilly over the Administrator and Falkenberg.
— Combat at Werben, Gustavus Adolphus over Tilly.
— Battle of Leipzig, Gustavus Adolphus over Tilly.
1632. Battle of the Lech, Gustavus Adolphus over Tilly, who was killed in the action.
— Battle of Nuremberg, Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein.
— The combat of Weiseloch.
— The battle of Lutzen, where Gustavus fell, won by Duke Bernhard of Saxe Weimar over Wallenstein.
1635. Combat of Domitz, Baner over Bauditzen.
1636. Battle of Nordlingen, Duke Bernhard defeated by the King of Hungary and Gallas.
— Battle of Wittstock, Baner over Hatzfeld.
1637. Combat of Haselemen, won by Kniphausen, who was mortally wounded.
— Combat of Eulenberg, Baner over the Saxons.
1638. Combat of Rhinefeld, Duke Bernhard over De Werth.
— Combat of Chemnitz, Baner over Hatzfeld.
— Battle of Wettenveyer, Duke Bernhard over Goetz.
— Combat of Lemgo, Hatzfeld over Prince Rupert.
1639. Combat of Brandeis, Baner over Montecuculi.
1641. Combat of Wolfenbüttel, Guebriant over the Archduke Leopold.
1642. Battle of Kempen, Guebriant over Lamboy.
— Combat of Schweidnitz, Torstenson over Duke of Saxe Lauenberg.
— Battle of Breitenfeld, Torstenson over Archduke Leopold.
1643. Combat of Tuttlingen, Mercy and De Werth over De Rantzau.

1644. Combat of Coldingen, Torstenson over the Danes.
— Battle of Freiburg, Turenne and Condé over Von Mercy.
1648. Battle of Janikau, or Jankowitz, Torstenson over Hatzfeld, De Werth, and Goetz, who was killed there.
— Combat of Mariendal, or Mergentheim, Von Mercy over Turenne.
— Battle of Allersheim, Turenne and Condé over Von Mercy.
— Surprise of Zusmarshausen, Wrangel over Melander.

CONSEQUENCES

OF THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS, AND OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

1607—1648.

TRUCE OF THE HAGUE—PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

"THESE great historical events, the heroes of which are commemorated in these pages, comprised the great struggle for civil and religious liberty from which we of this generation have reaped so many blessings, and which will constitute, in all probability, the *great platform* on which the world will be civilized to its consummation.

Results of the liberation of the Netherlands from

"In the first of the above struggles, the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands retained their freedom and a national existence, after a sharp and desperate struggle with powerful and intolerant Spain, and Holland became

the yoke of Spain.

established as one of the foremost nations of the world.

"Not only was the independence of the Dutch established by the truce obtained by the conquering sword of Maurice of Nassau, but by the prudence and wisdom of Barneveldt, the Grand Pensionary, freedom of commerce was early secured to the liberated people by the truce published at the Hague, 21st April, 1609, and in a few years subsequent her navy (created by the Water Gueux of this period originally) pervaded the globe, and the Dutch capital, Amsterdam, became the great emporium of the commerce of the world. A successful resistance to those who would endeavour to control the minds and energies of men by a base counterfeit of religion had been successfully made, and not only were industry and intelligence unshackled, but a sure asylum was opened by the liberated for all, of whatever country, who might henceforth desire to flee from persecution. The benefit thus accruing to mankind cannot now be properly estimated, for we are unable at this time to feel what it is to be left without a refuge and the means of resistance when arbitrary rulers are ready to crush men for their free and legitimate opinions, and to make themselves inquisitors of their conduct. It was in the Low Countries, and it was the great consequence of these successful struggles for independence, that the defenders of civil and religious liberty first received shelter from such oppression. It was from thence that men could securely assert their grievances, set forth what they conceived to be the truth, and maintain and exercise the principles of free inquiry. The example was first received from Holland, that has subsequently been made patent to the whole world, what wonders may be effected through unshackled commerce and the peaceful arts for the regeneration of mankind; while this result is likewise deduced from the revolt of the Netherlands, that princes and statesmen of every age and nation may henceforth

learn the great practical truths—that ambition should be at all periods virtuous and peaceful, that religious feelings should be tolerant, and that governments should be mild and gentle[9]."

Stipulations of the Treaty of Westphalia.

The memorable Peace of Westphalia was signed at Munster, October 24th, 1648. The following were the principal and most important stipulations of the treaty, which became a fundamental law of the Empire.

1. That France should possess the sovereignty of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, the city of Pignerol, Brisac, and its dependencies, the Landgraviates of Upper and Lower Alsace, with the right to keep a garrison in Phillipsburgh.

2. That to Sweden should be granted, besides five millions of crowns, the Archbishopric of Bremen and the Bishopric of Verden, secularized, Upper Pomerania, Stettin, the Isle of Rugen, and the city of Wismar, in the Duchy of Mecklenburg, all to be holden as fiefs of the Empire.

3. That the Elector of Brandenburg should be reimbursed for the loss of Upper Pomerania by the cession to him of the Bishopric of Magdeburg, secularized, and by having the Bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin declared secular principalities.

4. That the Duchies of Mecklenburg should be restored to its rightful princes, and receive as an equivalent for Wismar the Bishoprics of Schwerin and Ratzburg, erected in like manner into secular principalities.

5. That the Electoral dignity should remain with Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, and his descendants; but that the Lower Palatinate should be restored to Charles Louis (son of the unfortunate King of Bohemia), and be established as a separate Electorate, to continue till the extinction of the House of Bavaria.

6. All the other Princes and States of the Empire

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to be re-established in the lands, rights, and prerogatives which they enjoyed before 1618.

7. The Republic of Switzerland to be declared a Sovereign State, exempt from the jurisdiction of the Empire.

8. The Pacification of Passau (August 2nd, 1552), by which religious liberty had been secured to the Protestants, was confirmed by the treaty, even to its fullest extent; and it was further agreed that the Calvinists should enjoy the same privileges with the Lutherans, and that an equal number of Catholic and Protestant deputies should be chosen to the Imperial Diet.

Effects of the Treaty of Westphalia upon the religious parties of all denominations.

"All religious sects were thus placed on an equal footing, their power during the long war having been proved nearly equal, and their natural antipathies having become, at the close of it, more moderate. All secularized property which had been seized and reclaimed by the Catholics since 1624 was restored to the Protestants, and all Protestant subjects of Catholic Princes were granted the free exercise of their religion, with this one exception, that the profession of Catholicism was enforced by an Imperial decree upon every individual within the Hereditary Provinces of the Imperial family. In this way the disputes between the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches were at length brought to a close.

Aspect of the treaty upon the Protestant interests.

"The general principle adopted by the treaty seems to have been to confirm every thing in the state in which it was in the year 1624—an arrangement that was, on the whole, favourable to the Protestants, to whom it was of the first importance to place themselves in a state deserving of respect, and that they might be formally acknowledged by the laws of the Empire. The inroads that had been made by the Protestants on the Catholic ecclesiastical property during the century that had elapsed since the Reformation were not inconsiderable, and it was provided that the possession of

gotski, and he forced the Waivode to enter into terms, and the Swedish Generalissimo to raise the siege of Brünn.

This city—the capital of the Margraviate of Moravia —possessed a citadel called the castle of Spielberg, presenting some precipitous acclivities on all sides, which were deemed impregnable, and which accordingly became the prison in which state criminals and political offenders had been often confined. Baron Trenck, and, in our own day, General Mack and Silvio Pellico, have all been shut up within its walls. Its chief strength lay in its elevation at a time when the use of shells was not understood, although an inefficient bomb discharged by a double fire had been employed in war as far back as 1634. The defence of the place against the Swedish Generalissimo Torstenson had been entrusted to De Souches, a French Protestant, who had served in the armies of France and Sweden, and had apostatized and offered his sword to the Emperor. He had nobly resisted all the skill of Torstenson from 1st April 1645 to 13th August of the same year, but held the fortress resolutely until the approach of Gallas, with the advance of the Archduke's army, obliged the Swedes to raise the siege and blockade of Brünn, and fall back on Olmutz[7]. Torstenson in his rage and fury pillaged the whole country through which he retired, and burned many villages, and, while the horizon was yet red with the conflagration, he again sent forward his light cavalry to threaten

The siege of Brünn raised.

[7] Louis Ratuis *de Souches* was a remarkably handsome man, whose bold determined expression of countenance, with long curling hair falling in thick masses on his shoulders, may still be recognized and admired among the portraits of the heroes of this war. He resigned his Swedish commission in order to be at liberty to fight a duel with his superior officer Stalhanske, and had now shamefully taken service under the enemy of his faith and of the uniform of his adoption. He now, however, defended the charge entrusted to him with the more determined courage, as he was duly warned that he would be shot if taken prisoner. He was deservedly made an Imperial Baron for his brave defence of Brünn, and subsequently Governor of Moravia.

Vienna; but the Archduke was now strong enough to laugh to scorn the impotent rage of the Swede, whose force was reduced by casualties, as well as by the plague that had infested their camp, to 2500 infantry and 8000 cavalry without horses. The Imperial Generalissimo therefore moved forward against the retiring force, which he made to fall back from Krems and Horn into Bohemia. Under some apprehension that the Swede had an intention of surprising Königsgratz, the Archduke anticipated him in that intention, and Torstenson took the way to Leutmeritz, where, in October, the retreat was ended by the retirement of the Swedish Generalissimo from the command, which was then vested in Gustavus Wrangel.

The Archduke takes the command of the Spanish forces in the Netherlands: refuses the Imperial crown: his death.

The Archduke, after reinforcing his army, which already amounted to 24,000 men with the Bavarian contingent, namely, twelve regiments of cavalry, and eighteen regiments of infantry, moved against Wrangel, in the hope of crushing him with such a superior force. But the Swedish army, after having fallen back to the Weser, was now joined to the French army under Turenne, and accordingly felt strong enough to resume offensive operations. Melander had now assumed the command-in-chief of the Imperial forces, in consequence of the Archduke having repaired to the Netherlands to take charge of the Spanish army in that province, of which he was constituted the Governor. Here he was opposed both to Turenne and Condé, by the former of whom he was out-generalled in 1647, and by the latter was defeated at the battle of Lenz in August 1648. On the death of Ferdinand III., before his son had been elected King of the Romans, the Empire was offered to the Archduke Leopold William by the Electors, but he refused it from attachment to the interests of his house, and constituted himself guardian of his deceased brother's children. He saw his nephew safe on the Imperial throne in 1658, and, relinquishing the career of both politics and arms, he retired into the privacy of sanctity, in which he died in 1662.

them was not now to be disturbed. This was an important step in advance made and secured to the Protestant princes. The civil rights of their people were to be in perfect equality with their Catholic brethren on all public occasions henceforth, especially in the Diet and other tribunals. This was, above all others, a most important concession.

Effect of the treaty upon the interests of Germany: Fearful state of society during the war.

"The Peace of Westphalia gave Europe the form which she retained, with slight variations, down to the breaking out of the French Revolution. But whatever may be its other merits, abstractedly regarded, it was, without any question, the greatest blessing that was ever experienced by Germany. Thirty years of any war was enough to demoralize entire generations of her people; but, carried on as had been the conflict that was terminated by the negotiations of Munster, it had brought the Empire to the very verge of ruin and barbarism; and the pictures of desolation handed down by contemporary writers and chroniclers are painful to the last degree. Of all the commanders of armies who appeared during the war, Gustavus Adolphus was the only general who pursued a strict and humane system of discipline. In all other armies, the soldiers, who were mercenaries, were irregularly paid, and not all supplied on any systematic commissariat. The very means of subsistence were torn by violence from the citizens and peasants. This induced resistance, and acts of blood and rapine ensued. The peasantry avenged their wrongs on straggling soldiers; the military avenged their comrades, till ruin and desolation attested the progress of every army. The war was carried on without plan or system. Expeditions were often undertaken with no other view than to lay waste provinces. The Empire is said to have lost twelve millions of inhabitants in this contest. The fields were allowed to run to waste. Want augmented crime, and had so overcome even repugnance to human flesh, that there are tales of cannibalism handed down by historians

too horrible to be recorded or believed. Want, sickness, and distress are the usual concomitant evils of the sword; but in 1642 the entire army of Marshal Guebriant dispersed itself for the very purpose of committing the most fearful depredations. Indeed, the French soldiery, who only mixed in the conflict towards its close, there earned a 'painful pre-eminence.' They were at this period the very abjects of society, for the most part vagrants and vagabonds, taken up as bad subjects by the police, and sent off to the army, that society at home might be free from their excesses.

Advantages secured to France by the treaty. Disastrous influence of France. Unhappy circumstances and prospects of Germany.

"The great gainer in the contest by the Treaty of Westphalia was France. It is painful to think that the establishment of the civil and religious liberty of Germany was most owing, not to the generous, national, steady resistance of the Protestant Princes, or to the arbitrary, unjust, and unholy interference of the Emperor, but much more to the petty desire of the House of Bourbon to depress the House of Hapsburg. It is a great misfortune to mankind, that the balance is no sooner restored by the diminishing of one exorbitant power, than it is again in danger from the preponderance of the other. From this epoch the real enemy to the repose of Europe has not been any longer Austria, but France: the ambition of her cabinets, the compactness of her possessions, the extent of her resources, and the genius of her people (who appeared, and but *appeared*, at the Peace of Westphalia, in the honourable character of the protectress of the civil and religious liberties of Germany, and the mediatrix of the dissensions of a century) has ever since been converted into an enemy of the happiness of the world. The ancient Empire of Germany existed from thenceforth merely in name: the princes virtually possessed a power that rendered them completely independent, for the supremacy of the Emperor was consequently reduced to a mere shadow, as soon as the unity of the body of the state had been riven. Each of the petty princes possessed unlimited

power over their subjects, whilst the Emperor retained only some inconsiderable prerogatives or reservations. The different states and princes have not, since the Peace of Westphalia, been ever harmonized into one whole, nor is it possible that a number of petty sovereigns should be influenced by any uniform policy or principle. They could neither form themselves into a limited monarchy, nor be absorbed into a system that might advance the substantial greatness of all, without diminishing the personal splendour, or damaging the fancied importance, of each individual potentate. Thus it has happened that this immense division of the most civilized portion of Central Europe has never risen to any *external* consequence, nor to its legitimate influence and power, and, what is worse, never to that state of *internal* improvement and happiness, which, under more favourable circumstances, it might certainly have realized.

Practical inferences from the stipulations of the Peace of Westphalia.

"The practical conclusion to be drawn in answer to the question, What is the nature of that religious and political happiness which history could represent to us in this final adjustment by the Peace of Westphalia? is this—that the virtue of those men is greatest who, in the midst of difficulty and discouragement, labour much though they may expect but little—who, whatever may be the failures of themselves and others in their endeavours to serve their fellow-creatures (as must be painfully remembered by the best among us), are neither depressed into torpor, nor exasperated into malevolence—who take care to deserve success by fixing their eyes steadily on the point of duty, and who never cease, according to the measure of the talents with which they are entrusted by their Creator, to unite their efforts, and embark their strength, in the great and perpetual aim of wise and good men—the advancement of the knowledge and the happiness of their species [1]."

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THE END.

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